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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

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Worldwide Issues

Churkin Holds External Relations Briefing

Notes Shevardnadze Comments

PM2911221591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 91 Union Edition p 7

[Unattributed report from the REUTER, AP, UPI, TASS, and AFP roundup]

[Text] USSR Minister of External Relations Eduard Shevardnadze believes that the main danger to the country at present is not so much the likelihood of a repetition of the August putsch as the possibility of spontaneous actions connected with the deterioriating economic situation in the Soviet Union.

That explanation of the minister's position on this question was given at a briefing by Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the USSR Ministry of External Relations Information Administration.

Denies Diplomatic Aid to Honecker

LD2911154391 Moscow TASS in English 1530 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksey Tabachnikov and Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—Spokesman for the Soviet Ministry Vitaliy Churkin said at a briefing here today German press allegations that Soviet diplomats are working to help former East German leader Erich Honecker move to Chile are false.

"Soviet diplomats are not doing any such work," Churkin said.

Denies Uranium Supplies to Iraq

LD2911182191 Moscow TASS in English 1618 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Nikishov and Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vitaliy Churkin refuted press reports "alleging that the Soviet Union could be a source of uranium-235 for Iraq". Speaking at a briefing in Moscow today he emphasised that "the Soviet Union does not manufacture that type of uranium".

Information that traces of uranium-235 with 93 per cent enrichment were discovered in Iraq was reported by the seventh U.N. inspection mission in that country. Considering that the type of uranium can be used to manufacture weapons, the Soviet side thinks "it is highly important to investigate this fact with the aim of establishing the source from which this uranium got into Iraq," Churkin said.

Explains UNRWA Resolutions Vote

LD2911183991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1531 GMT 28 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Oleg Polovko and Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Nov (TASS)—Now that the Near East settlement process has begun, UN General Assembly resolutions should not concern themselves with the essence of the settlement, which is a matter for discussion at the peace conference. This was the comment by Vitaliy Churkin, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of External Relations, at a briefing today on the change in the USSR's position with regard to the vote at the United Nation's 46th session on the draft resolutions on the activities of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA).

As it is known, during the vote on a set of resolutions on the activities of UNRWA, the Soviet delegation refrained from voting on four of them.

Such an approach, the representative of the USSR Ministry of External Relations noted, in no way means the USSR is abandoning the principal positions that have been established in the decisions on the Near East that have been previously adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council—in particular, the condemnation of aggression and seizure of foreign territories by force, and the violation of the rights of individuals and of entire peoples.

"We continue to support the deeply humane mission of the UNRWA," the Soviet diplomat emphasized in conclusion. "We are ready to continue to assist the implementation of its noble tasks."

Supports UN Restructuring

LD2911182791 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Nikishov and Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—"The solution to the problem of financing U.N. activities should be sought in a radical administrative and budgetary reform, according to the USSR," Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vitaliy Churkin said at a briefing here today.

A major element of such reform, he said, should include streamlining the U.N. Secretariat, simplifying its structure, cutting the number of associates working on the basis of permanent contracts and discontinuing obsolete projects.

Churkin said the Soviet side supports the proposal to set up a special one-billion USD [U.S. dollar] fund to finance peace-keeping operations in different regions of the world.

The Soviet Union suggests this fund should be formed from voluntary donations by states and by regional public and charitable organisations.

Seeks Facts on Nuclear Dumping

LD0112230191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1637 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Nikishov and Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 29 Nov (TASS)—[passage omitted] In connection with a statement by USSR People's Deputy Andrey Zolotkov on the supposed burying at sea of radioactive waste by the Soviet Union, the head of the USSR Ministry of External Relation's Information Directorate spoke in favor of an immediate verification of the facts contained in the statement. In his words, however, a final conclusion on this issue can only be made "after receiving trustworthy information on the facts of this matter".

The transfer of the USSR Ministry of External Relation's property to the operative directorate of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Foreign Ministry, in Vitaliy Churkin's opinion, introduces new nuances into the decision on the future of the Union Foreign Ministry adopted recently at the session of the State Council. Speaking about the corresponding resolution of the Russian Government, he stated that a meeting is planned between Boris Yeltsin and Eduard Shevardnadze which evidently will examine this problem. [passage omitted]

NATO Political Committee Delegation Visits

'Frank' Talks With Lobov

LD2811125191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1140 GMT 28 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Nov (TASS)—Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, met today with staff of the Secretariat of the North Atlantic bloc and members of the NATO Political Committee. They have arrived in the Soviet Union to take part in an international "USSR—NATO" seminar.

A frank and constructive conversation took place during which questions connected with the processes of the positive changes in the international situation, the reforms in our country, and the transformation of the Soviet Armed Forces were discussed. Problems of the transformation of NATO and changes in the strategic concepts of the bloc were also touched upon. The meeting brought to light the coincidence of the two sides' views on the prospects for the future development of cooperation in strengthening security and peace on the basis of trust and mutual understanding.

Crindler on Nuclear Arms

PM2911164191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Nov 91 p 3

[Report by S. Ivanov: "Where Does the Threat to Peace Come From? 'Not From NATO, at Any Rate,' Members of the North Atlantic Bloc's Political Committee Delegation Assure"]

[Text] "Your country's nuclear military arsenal is under control," NATO Deputy Secretary General John Crindler tried to persuade journalists. Then I asked him to clarify whether, during the four days of its first visit to Moscow, the NATO Political Committee delegation had managed to discover who precisely controls nuclear weapons in the former Soviet Union. J. Crindler stated that the aim of the visit was to establish military and political contacts.

NATO representatives are hardly alone in desiring to see a single state on the territory of the USSR; similar statements have also been heard from Western politicians and economists. In this case, however, NATO's representatives were concerned exclusively with military problems, in particular the fate of the agreements on strategic offensive weapons and conventional weapons, which were signed by the USSR president way back and are still to be ratified. NATO is seriously contemplating the possibility of the uncontrolled spread of nuclear weapons through the territories of the new sovereign states. It is no accident that the Declaration on the Soviet Union, adopted at the meeting in Rome, noted that the peoples of the former USSR are entitled to determine their own future, proceeding from the principles of guarantees of human rights and freedoms, democratization of the economy, and the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.

NATO once again sees a possibility of controlling these processes by extending contacts with the center and the former republics. It would appear that, with this aim in mind, our Minister of External Relations E. Shevardnadze will for the first time take part in the conference of NATO foreign ministers 20 December.

Official on Halting Nuclear Technology Transfer

OW0112064091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2026 GMT 29 Nov 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" (DP) feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] DP [Diplomatic Panorama] has been informed that, in the course of the Soviet-United States consultations on problems of strategic stability held in Washington on November 20-21, the American side expressed concern over the possible consequences of the emigration of nuclear physicists and people who have worked in the military sphere from the USSR. The danger involved in the leakage of nuclear technologies from the USSR was also emphasised by members of a delegation from the NATO Political Committee that has just left Moscow.

The head of the Department for International Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights of the USSR Foreign Ministry, Yuriy Reshetov, told our correspondent that he thought it was impossible to stop the leakage of scientific information. International law rules out any restrictions except those on the export of purely military secrets.

In his opinion, any national bans could give rise to a "fresh wave of violations of law and human rights".

"If you have some kind of formula in your head which some country or other may use for military purposes, the best way to stop it is to introduce international sanctions against that country," Mr Reshetov believes. Those introduced against Iraq were a good example of this.

United States & Canada

Reportage on U.S. Reaction to Ukraine Referendum

Kremlin 'Bewilderment' at Stance

LD2811183091 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1803 GMT 28 Nov 91

["Report from the press service of the USSR president"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Nov (TASS)—A report from the press service of the USSR president has been circulated here. It says: "The Kremlin has noted a report quoting the entourage of the U.S. President that the United States will give diplomatic recognition to the Ukraine if the latter's citizens vote for independence at the end of November.

"Taking account of the current level of relations between our countries, and also the frequent official statements that the United States will not define its position on such internal questions of ours until the republics reach a final decision, such a report causes bewilderment, all the more so since it appears on the very eve of the referendum."

'Fundamental Turning Point' Seen

LD2911232291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 29 Nov 91

[N. Svanidze commentary; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The tone of the statement by the USSR president's press service shows that the Union leadership is irritated by the U.S. position on Ukrainian independence. Here is our commentator's view.

[Svanidze] It has to be said that Gorbachev's irritation is very well-grounded. The change in the American position is so basic that it could be called a fundamental turning point in U.S. policy toward our country. This turning point was inevitable, but we are observing it right now. Until now, the United States' pronounced romantic loyalty to Gorbachev, or the center, was quite unshakeable. The Baltic republics were energetic in trying to get the West to recognize their independence, and they achieved this, but it did not count because the Sovietization of the Baltic region had never been recognized.

On the other hand, the Western community managed successfully to pretend that it did not notice the attention-seeking trick riding of Caucasian leaders. Both before and after the putsch, the West was firmly banking on the Union in any form and under any name. Now that they are faced with the more-than-realistic prospect that the Ukraine will declare independence, however, the Americans have caved in. First, the Ukraine's size was a factor—you might as well not recognize France. Second, the ethnic factor has had a psychological effect—the breaking off of this Slavic republic signifies for the West the irreversible disintegration of the Union, and in this situation the orientation toward the Union center becomes completely senseless, like relying on a vacuum.

The United States is therefore making a decisive choice Evidently their watershed move will be of vast significance for the precedent it sets. After all, one cannot stop at recognition of the Ukraine, and a wave of state recognitions is now quite possible. The United States is already beginning to see itself in a new strategic system of geographic coordinates in which there is no longer a place for the Union. And this is compelling them, albeit with regret, to transcend habitual geopolitical notions and sentimental loyalty to Gorbachev.

Russian Americans on 'Interference'

LD2911054391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0235 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kolesnichenko]

[Text] New York, 29 Nov (TASS)—The Congress of Russian Americans—a major public organization of the Russian-speaking population in the United States—has condemned the report, quoting the entourage of the U.S. President, that the United States will grant diplomatic recognition to the Ukraine if its citizens vote for independence in the referendum on 1 December as "interference by the White House in Russo-Ukrainian relations."

The statement by the Congress of Russian Americans, delivered to the TASS office in New York, notes that the "largest Russian-language organization in the United States, speaking on behalf of 3 million American citizens of Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian origin, sharply condemns the prematurity of the statement on the White House's intention to recognize the independence of the Ukraine".

"The statement on the intention to recognize the independence of the Ukraine, which appeared in the media three days before the referendum on independence, is tantamount to direct interference in the internal affairs of the countries of this region," the document stresses. "This act will only add fuel to the flames of national hostility and will serve to further destabilize this already unstable part of the world, with unpredictable consequences for all mankind."

The statement says further: "It should be kept in mind that we are dealing with an area saturated with nuclear weapons and the means to deliver them to any point in the world. The whipping up of national hostility in a country which is in a state of political and ideological transformation is extremely dangerous and not in the American interest. It will also delay the country's movement towards democracy, which has taken place up until now—to the amazement of the whole world—without bloodshed."

"We think," the document of the Congress of Russian Americans notes in conclusion, "that such statements should have been made after the Ukrainian referendum scheduled for 1 December."

Bush, Gorbachev Discusses Ukraine

LD3011194291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network
in Russian 1830 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] Today the U.S. President phoned Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Gorbachev welcomed this continuation of what is essentially a permanent and friendly exchange of views, which confirms the significance of relations that have taken shape not just in bilateral terms, but also in broad international terms.

George Bush highly appraised Moscow's efforts to settle the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia. He set out the considerations guiding the White House in working out its position concerning the Ukrainian referendum. Most of the 45-minute conversation was devoted to this. Replying to a question on what he understands by proclamation of independence, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev drew a clear distinction between it and the separatist drive to split from the Union. Independence declared earlier by other republics opens up even greater opportunities for participating freely and absolutely voluntarily in the process of forming the new Union, vitally needed by all, and we will not regard a decision by the citizens of the Ukraine concerning its independence as an act of becoming separated from the Union. To push the process in this direction would be tantamount to moving toward a disaster, for the Union, the Ukraine itself, Russia, Europe, and the world.

Bush, whose utterances reflected a step-by-step and an evenhanded approach to the processes taking place in our country, told Gorbachev about plans to develop relations with the Ukraine, Russia, and other sovereign republics. He said that the policy of the United States of America consisted in ensuring that these relations should not damage the efforts of the republics themselves to resolve issues connected with the future new Union. The President of the United States of America wished Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev success in this most complex work.

Immediate Recognition Not Forseen

LD0112115891 Moscow TASS in English 1129 GMT 1 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin]

[Text] Washington December 1 TASS—The U.S. Administration regards as virtually pre-determined the outcome of today's referendum on the Ukraine's independence and intends to come forward with a prepared statement on Monday [2 December], THE WASHINGTON POST newspaper reported today referring to data from high Administration officials.

In the statement, the U.S. Administration will welcome the expression of the will of the republic's people but will not declare readiness to immediately recognise the Ukraine's independence.

At the same time President Bush decided to send his special emissary to the Ukraine after the referendum.

The emissary will not have an ambassadorial rank but will be authorised to hold talks with Ukrainian officials on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, on human rights and economic cooperation matters.

According to THE WASHINGTON POST, the administration's statement was prepared after intensive debates inside the administration about a stand which the White House should take on the Ukraine independence issue.

Secretary of Defence Richard Cheney insisted on immediate recognition of the Ukraine in the belief that that would provide the United States with a powerful lever of influence on the new state and its conduct in the international arena.

However, the U.S. Department of State as well as a number of other advisers to Bush called on him not to be in a hurry with recognition and use it as an instrument to get guarantees from Ukrainian leaders for the observance of the norms of international conduct, the fulfilment of international obligations and as a stimulus to encourage the Ukraine to resolve problems in relations with Russia.

THE WASHINGTON POST reports that President Bush intends to have a telephone talk with Russia's President Boris Yeltsin to discuss the obtaining situation.

U.S. Urges End to Armenia-Azerbaijan Conflict

LD2811105391 Moscow TASS in English 1012 GMT 28 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Lebyedev]

[Text] Washington November 28 TASS—The U.S. Administration expressed deep concern over the worsening conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan yesterday. "The U.S. is observing the continuing violence in this region, and calls for the governments of both republics to settle their dispute through peaceful negotiations," State Department Spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler said at a briefing.

She also stressed the U.S. will build relations with separate republics according to their support of democratic values and activities. Included among these activities, Tutwiler said, are a willingness to eliminate national disputes through peaceful discussions and respect for human rights on an international level. "The U.S. supports the continuing efforts of mediators to resolve the conflict," Tutwiler said.

Official Details Plans for U.S. Food Credits

LD2911194791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1140 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Troitskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Nov (TASS)—It has been decided to spend two-thirds of the 1,000,250,000 dollars [figure as received] of credit allocated by the United States to the Soviet Union to purchase grain and fodder. TASS was told this by Viktor Akulinin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee on Food Purchases.

Akulinin said the rest of the money will be spent on purchasing soybean meal, soybeans, and some types of unprocessed foods. The purchases will be distributed among the republics according to the shares allocated to them under the agreement on food supplies signed by 12 republics. Akulinin added that half a million dollars will be spent in the next few days.

He recalled that in accordance with the five-year agreement on grain deliveries between the USSR and the United States that was concluded last year, there are plans to purchase 8 to 14 million tonnes of maize and wheat annually. Whereas previously these purchases were made in a centralized manner, now with the formation of the economic community of the former Soviet republics, they are under the strict control of the food purchase committee. The representatives of the 12 republics that are members of this committee determine the goods that are to be obtained for the credits and the list of specific types of foods that the republics need. The republics will also distribute the food supplies.

Plans for Pentagon Financial Aid Examined

PM0212112791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Nov 91 Union Edition pp 1, 4

[Report by A. Anichkin: "Pentagon Money Will Pay for Reforms in Russia. Will This Open a New Stage of Cooperation Between Former Rivals?"]

[Text] The United States is to give the Soviet Union aid worth $500 million from the Pentagon budget. This decision, which is unprecedented and seemed impracticable just a couple of weeks ago, could in certain conditions open up completely new horizons for cooperation between the two erstwhile "cold war" adversaries.

It is planned to use $100 million to finance flights by U.S. military transport aviation carrying food and medicines, and $400 million to finance the Soviet nuclear weapons elimination program, which was President Gorbachev's answer to the initiative to reduce the U.S. nuclear potential announced by President Bush. Just prior to this, the Senate voted to appropriate even more money—$700 million—but, at subsequent coordination talks with the other chamber of Congress—the House of Representatives, it turned out that the military department would be unable to allocate more than $500 million.

This legislative proposal must now be approved by President Bush, who has not yet officially announced his attitude to it. Presidential Spokesman Fitzwater, however, called it interesting. It is more than likely that the President will approve it, especially in view of the fact that the Senate voted for aid by an overwhelming majority (86 for, eight against), which included votes by Democrats and Republicans alike. This is very important, because the U.S. Administration's hesitation about giving aid to the USSR is largely due to the harsh criticism, mainly from the Democrat side, of Bush's economic policy and his heightened concern with foreign policy at the expense of domestic affairs. Voters' dissatisfaction with the United States' economic situation has now even raised doubts about Bush's chance of reelection in 1992, which until now was considered incontestable.

It was precisely this mood against giving aid to foreign states (which is so familiar to us) that was the main reason for the failure of the original idea put forward by Senator Sam Nunn and Congressman Les Aspin, who proposed spending $1 billion of the Pentagon's $291 billion budget on aid to the USSR. But these two legislators, regarded as the leading authorities on military policy, did not give up and organized a bipartisan coalition in Congress which succeeded in bringing this plan to fruition, although in a somewhat truncated form and more rigidly tied to specific aims. In the U.S. political system, bipartisan support for a particular initiative is a guarantee and certain condition of its implementation. This fact, more than anything else, inspires hope that other larger-scale measures will follow, embracing not just the sphere of disarmament and emergency "winter" aid, but also other areas of possible cooperation.

And it seems that other steps taken by the administration and Congress give grounds for these hopes. President Bush has sent the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Reduction of Strategic Offensive Arms to the Senate for ratification, the Senate has voted by 90 votes to four for the ratification of the Paris CFE Treaty, the decision to grant most-favored-nation status to the USSR has passed through the House of Representatives and been submitted to Bush for signing, and earlier the administration decided to give credits worth $1.5 billion to the 12 republics for food purchases.

It is not worth overestimating these steps, however. First, $500 million is not such a large sum (less than 0.5 percent of the Department of Defense budget). And then the series of steps favoring our country can be explained by the usual haste before a recess in Congress's work and, most important of all, by fear of possible chaos and the complete disintegration of the largest nuclear power. According to the legislators who spoke in support of the current decisions, this prospect is an extremely worrying one both for U.S. Secretary of Defense Cheney and the new CIA Director Gates, who is a Soviet specialist. Many staffers from Western special services are now of the opinion that the USSR is on the threshold of turning into a "nuclear Yugoslavia." This was the subject of a recent WASHINGTON POST article written jointly by Senators Sam Nunn (Democrat) and Richard Lugar (Republican), who are among the authors of the proposal to spend Pentagon money on helping the Soviet Union.

This alarm is perfectly understandable and not exaggerated. Something else is hard to understand: Why, when help and support for the reforms in the Union, Russia, and the other republics is so necessary, is the problem of nuclear arms control being kept on the back burner. Reports that Soviet intellectual "nuclear" potential might be filched, when it seems that Iraq, Libya, and North Korea are prepared to lure our specialists away, have been received rather calmly. There are no clear-cut and unambiguous explanations or refutations of reports about the intentions of certain Soviet organizations to sell nuclear firing mechanisms abroad. It is possible that this problem has been discussed at recent consultations on strategic stability problems in Washington—but these were held behind closed doors, and neither the public in the United States nor in the USSR has received the necessary assurances. Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who was in Washington, expressed gratitude to the U.S. legislators for the aid package and for their persistence in looking for ways to bring this about. The Russian minister's statement is important and has undoubtedly been adopted for information purposes in Washington—Russia is perceived if not as the heir to the USSR, then at least as the "locomotive" behind the formation that will emerge in place of the former Soviet Union.

Nevertheless, an unambiguous and binding answer from the central Soviet authorities is needed, as is a reply from the leaders and the parliaments of republics on whose territory nuclear weapons are stationed. This is necessary to enable the U.S. initiative to become the foundation on which new cooperation between our two countries will grow.

Strauss Delivers Baker Message to Shevardnadze

LD2911211491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2006 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 29 Nov (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of external relations, today received Robert Strauss, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, at his own request. A number of issues connected with the internal development of our country were discussed. The ambassador handed a personal message to Eduard Shevardnadze from U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

Shevardnadze Meets U.S. Policy Council Members

LD0112094691 Moscow TASS in English 1824 GMT 30 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Pershin]

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—Soviet Minister of External Relations Eduard Shevardnadze received here on Saturday [30 November] night a delegation of the American Foreign Policy Council—an influential non-governmental U.S. organisation, which is on a private visit in this country. It includes many prominent experts and statesmen who held executive posts in the Carter and Reagan administrations, including Zbigniew Brzezsinski, former assistant to the president for national security affairs, a well-known specialist in political sciences.

The guests showed special interest in the current socio-political situation in the country and the relationship between the centre and the republics in new conditions. They were received by Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Parliament, and had a conversation at the Committee for Inter-Republican Economic Cooperation at the Council of the Republics of the Federal Parliament.

The U.S. experts intend to meet tonight representatives of the independent trade union of miners. They leave for home on Sunday [1 November].

West Europe

Reportage on Silayev Visit to France

Arrives 29 Nov

LD2911153891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee, has arrived in Paris for talks with

French leaders and representatives of business circles. A few minutes ago, Yevgeniy Lukyanov, our correspondent in France, got through to us here in Ostankino. Here is the material he sent:

[Lukyanov] [passage omitted] In answer to your correspondent's question about how he evaluated these contacts, Ivan Stepanovich Silayev said:

[Begin Silayev recording] Well, you see, these contacts are already taking real shape and taking account of investment credits. Work has been going on anyway. There are some very interesting projects in Russia, and now there will be a good environment, including the financial situation, to ensure that these projects succeed. [end recording]

Meets Mitterrand, Cresson

LD2911221191 Moscow TASS in English 2124 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondents Sergey Batyrev and Aleksandr Krivykh]

[Text] Paris November 29 TASS—Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Inter-state Economic Committee, is on a brief visit in France. The official part of the programme, which was very effective, has been concluded. Today Silayev was received by French President Francois Mitterrand, met with Prime Minister Edith Cresson and had a conversation with French entrepreneurs interested in cooperation in the renewed union of sovereign states. The main outcome of the meetings is that France confirmed its readiness to give assistance to the Union, including financial assistance, during the transfer of its economy to the market.

The conversation between Silayev and Mitterrand was central to the new round of bilateral contacts. They discussed the situation in Europe with taking into account political and economic processes in the territory of the former USSR. Silayev described these processes as complicated and difficult.

Mitterrand expressed support for political and economic reforms in the framework of the Union. He said he believes they should lead to the improvement of the economic situation. Mitterrand emphasised particularly that he supports the efforts to preserve the union of sovereign republics in its renewed form.

The strengthening of cooperation to stimulate economic reforms in the Union was the main theme of the negotiations. Silayev and Mitterrand, specifically, discussed the arrangement in principle to grant the Soviet Union a credit of five billion francs, which was mentioned during the latest contacts between Mitterrand and President Gorbachev.

It became known after the conversation between Silayev and Cresson that Paris is prepared to discuss the possibility of allocating such a sum. Part of it will be used to purchase food products and medicines from France.

As regards other specific prospects of bilateral cooperation, Silayev told TASS that France is leading in interesting specific projects which began to be implemented jointly with Russia, Kazakhstan, and the Ukraine in various directions. He said that in the present difficult situation in the Union French entrepreneurs feel more confident than business people from other countries. He said that large-scale entrepreneurial activity of French business can be expected shortly in the USSR.

The need to eliminate difficulties interfering with free development of entrepreneurial activity of French business people in the republics of the Union was mentioned during Silayev's meeting with heads of French companies held today at the central office of the National Council of French Entrepreneurs (Conseil National du Patronat Francais—CNPF). President of the Council, Francois Perigot, said that French entrepreneurs closely follow the processes taking place in the Union and the creation of new structures that are to replace the USSR.

He said French business people have long been maintaining friendly relations with the Union and are interested in the emergence of a new community as a result of transformations. He said the destruction of the common economic entity would damage everyone. The French business circles have durable relations with the Union and would like to preserve relations with the Union, Perigot said.

After the meeting Silayev told TASS he understands the concern expressed by French entrepreneurs. In the past they often were adversely affected by the lack of organisation resulting from former structures. He said that it is necessary to create most favourable conditions for them, perhaps to drop for a certain period all kinds of customs restrictions, including those on the export of capital. Silayev said he understands the demands for guarantees of investments. "This meeting confirmed again that we should open our economic space so that Western entrepreneurs should feel in our country as comfortably as at home. The reforms should be implemented more energetically", Silayev said.

On Saturday Silayev flies from Paris to Moscow.

'Optimistic' on Credit Prospects

LD2911181591 Moscow TASS in English 1539 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondents Sergey Batyrev and Aleksandr Krivykh]

[Text] Paris November 29 TASS—France may be the first to grant the USSR a credit of 5 billion francs, which was asked by Mikhail Gorbachev during his meetings with President Francois Mitterrand.

"We are optimistic in this respect, believing that this part of the Soviet-French cooperation plan will be implemented," Ivan Silayev, chairman of the USSR Interstate Economic Committee, told TASS after meeting the French president.

"President Mitterrand supports the reforms in our country, appreciates our progress in the country's democratisation, and our efforts to improve the economic situation. He favours the preservation of the Union in its new form," Silayev noted.

"France is leading the field in several very interesting and concrete projects in various economic areas, which are already being implemented in Russia, Kazakhstan and the Ukraine. As distinct from businessmen from other countries, their French colleagues feel much more confident, despite the difficult situation in our country," Silayev noted.

According to the Elysee Palace press service, President Mitterrand intends to meet the French head of government shortly in order to discuss certain details of the agreement to grant the Soviet Union a credit of 5 billion francs.

Said 'Fully Satisfied'

LD3011103491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2236 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondents Sergey Batyrev and Aleksandr Krivykh]

[Text] Paris, 30 Nov (TASS)—All of the meetings and conversations which we had in Paris were important and useful, and our delegation is fully satisfied with the visit's results. This was the opinion expressed by Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee [IEC]. At the conclusion of the official program of the visit, he gave an exclusive interview to TASS correspondents.

The objectives we set for this visit, Ivan Silayev said, included, first and foremost, meetings with the French leadership—with President Francois Mitterrand and Prime Minister Edith Cresson. We wanted to find out, among other things, whether Paris will confirm its intention to grant us the loan totaling 5 billion francs [Fr], which was discussed during the recent meeting between the French and Soviet presidents. During our talks with the prime minister, we wanted to discover, above all, how the French envisage the implementation of this credit and its structure.

During the meeting with President Mitterrand, the French head of state again expressed support for the reforms being carried out in our country and the desire to do business not with a disintegrated, destroyed union, nor with the former structures, but with a new state formation. Mitterrand again and again emphasized that France and Europe are interested in the processes of economic changes in our country being successfully developed, so that a union, based on new principles, can be created, and so that a huge country such as ours does not lose its potential. I briefed the president on the country's political situation and on the progress of work on the new Union treaty. Mitterrand spoke of his intention to visit the Soviet Union "in the not too distant future."

Naturally, we also discussed the aforementioned Fr5 billion loan, both during the talks with the president and with the prime minister. During the conversation with Mrs. Cresson, we examined this question in detail. French short-term financial assistance to our country will consist of several components. First, there is a Fr2.3 billion loan specifically pegged to the purchase of food and medicine from France. It is part of the Soviet-French agreement concluded a few weeks ago. Under this agreement, it is envisaged that the loan will be repaid by oil and gas exports from our country during 1992-94. Here it has to be admitted that our foreign trade organizations have still not completed the planning for these exports. Second, there is a Fr2 billion loan for the purchase of French grain. Here work has not yet been completed on the banking agreement. Finally, there is a Fr700 million loan, which is the French component of the credit being granted to us by the EC. We have agreed to complete all the necessary work on this in the shortest possible time.

I shall not hide the fact that our side also sought an additional Fr1 billion loan for the purchase of food. But the prime minister's reaction to this was very cautious. She said that France's own economic position was difficult. She felt that work should first be completed on the abovementioned projects before returning to the question of possible new steps in the sphere of financial assistance.

On the whole, the discussions were thorough and detailed. I can say that our delegation has no grounds for feeling dissatisfied. When speaking about precisely how the credits will be distributed, it must be stressed above all that the period during which they will enable the food situation to be rectified will somewhat necessarily have to be used for in depth reform of the economy. Otherwise, after a certain length of time, the situation will become absolutely grave. As for the distribution of credits, everything must be made precise: The IEC will not distribute them itself. There is a "Food-92" program, agreed between the republics, which stipulates the realistic needs of each republic as regards meat, milk, grain, and so on, as well as the resources (again realistic), that each of the republics has at its disposal. The proportion that each of the republics lacks to meet its needs can be determined from that calculation. All of this has been estimated and translated into the language of foreign currency requirements. According to these calculations, we now need credit totalling some $8 billion to purchase food—if we take as our starting point the level of realistic average per capita consumption for the Union according to data for the middle of this year. Thus, each republic knows in advance how much is due to it both as a whole and specifically as regards each particular credit. This is not, of course, the most convenient option technically—having to split credit into the parts due to the republics, but nothing can be done about that; such is today's reality.

On this subject, it also must be stated that it is not worth attaching excessive significance to credits from the West to help in resolving our food problem. In the final analysis, with their aid we can guarantee the purchase of approximately 20 percent of the food, which means that 80 percent needs to be our own produce. The harvest has only just been gathered, but where are the goods, particularly in the large towns? Obviously, in this case, either the local bodies are not managing to deliver something on time, or we have to draw a far more alarming conclusion: The root of this evil lies in the ambitions of local leaders. For example, I have information that over the last few days, the leaders of Smolensk have forbidden the movement of food outside the boundaries of the oblast, in particular to Moscow. I cannot say that this is the line being pursued by the leaders of all the oblasts in Central Russia, the main suppliers of meat to the capital, but the Smolensk example does make one think. I believe that such a practice needs to be condemned decisively.

We also have held meetings with representatives of French business circles. Although there was little time to get to know one another, there was time to form the impression that the entrepreneurs are actively interested. In conversation with us, they expressed regret that when a large delegation of representatives from the leading companies visited our country two years ago, quite a lot of interesting plans were put forward, but most never went beyond the planning stage. You are aware of how processes have developed since then in our country, but, nevertheless, it is clear that, generally speaking, the system currently in operation in our country has completely exhausted its potential when talks are conducted, contracts concluded, and funds allocated by one group of people, while another group is to be using them. Even now, equipment is lying in our stores which was purchased for hard currency, but which was of no interest to those for whom it was intended. In this connection, we suggested to the French businessmen that they "intrude" more actively into our economy, but already on the new principles directly. There may be various ways of doing so—joint enterprises, the setting up by our Western partners of their own enterprises on our territory, for example in the processing of agricultural produce—and there was a particularly detailed discussion on this. We came to an understanding that in the very near future, a large group of businessmen working in this sphere would come to our country to develop cooperation on these new principles, the same as they operate on in their own country—on the basis of direct relations. Naturally, with the economic support both of the republics and ourselves. For our part, we intend to offer them very great concessions, particularly in the first years of work, and to give them the opportunity to freely have at their disposal earned capital, including hard currency, and, for example, to export it out of the country and establish preferential customs tariffs, and so on.

Today some French partners are, of course, asking who they should be dealing with now in the Union and its republics, since the former ordered system of links no longer exists. That is true, but only to a certain extent. Today they need only contact one address—that of our entrepreneurs and enterprises with which they have an interest in cooperating. The task of governments and republican leaderships, and our own tasks, is to remove the barriers obstructing cooperation and to eliminate problems—specifically, by altering legislation and concluding interstate agreements. So, I would like to say that, as of today, both sides have grounds for counting on active cooperation.

We had an interesting conversation with the leaders of the French Economic and Social Council. It comprises representatives from the worlds of business, science, and culture, as well as meritorious and authoritative people in France. It is, in fact, possible to see here a combination of the interests of the working people and the producers, and the interaction of employers and trade unions. In general, it is a very interesting forum. They analyze various socioeconomic problems very seriously, and their recommendations amount to an authoritative conclusion. The government listens to them most attentively. We agreed on the initiation of cooperation, and the French side is ready to set up a mission in our country that would help us in the work. In general, all the meetings were interesting and useful, I. Silayev concluded.

Comments on 'Positive' Results

PM0212131491 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 91 p 4

[Interview with I.S. Silayev by correspondent V. Bolshakov in Paris; date not given: "The West Is Dealing With the Center"]

[Text] Paris—It was evening, and in the old mansion on the Rue Grenelle where the Russian Embassy to France was once housed and where the emperor himself did not disdain to stay during his trips to Paris, there was a waiting line. No, not for sausage or bread, of course, but for interviews. I had come to the Rue Grenelle early, but I was not the first.

Ivan Stepanovich kindly agreed to answer your correspondent's questions.

[Bolshakov] How did your talks in Brussels and Paris go, on the whole?

[Silayev] On the whole the results are positive. I discussed with Mr. Delors in Brussels the question of granting credits of 250 million ECU's [European currency units] to our country. In France, our task was to clarify the French leadership's position on granting us credits totaling 5 billion francs [Fr].

[Bolshakov] In what form will this credit be given? And how will we pay for it?

[Silayev] Fr2 billion is being made available as purely commercial credit, for the purchase of grain. Then there is Fr2.3 billion for barter deliveries of various foods, including grain, meat, and so forth. We will pay for this with deliveries of our own oil and gas, beginning in the second half of 1992 through 1994. And the remaining Fr700 million is France's share of the credit granted by the EC Commission.

[Bolshakov] Has agreement been reached with the republics on these deliveries?

[Silayev] The wish was expressed to us that the question of barter deliveries of oil and gas and the corresponding dates should be decided first. This is mainly a question of reaching agreement with Russia.

[Bolshakov] Was the question of participation by French firms in the conversion of our defense industry discussed during your visit?

[Silayev] Yes. Although I must say that the French, for instance, have not yet restructured themselves in this respect. They are still looking for some kind of controlling center, and we are telling them—enter into direct contacts with defense enterprises.

[Bolshakov] During your trip you were representing the Union, the center. What did your visit reveal regarding the attitude toward the Union here in the West, and specifically in France?

[Silayev] When you talk about France you have to remember the positions its leadership holds with regard to preserving the Union. President Mitterrand, in a talk with me, reaffirmed his commitment to promoting our reforms and the desire for the Union to be preserved, but in a new form, not the old one. For the European Community it would be preferable to have dealings with the Union as a single whole, rather than with republics scattered around separate economic zones. The same applies to the question of central control of nuclear weapons.

[Bolshakov] On the eve of the referendum in the Ukraine and the election of the republic president, many people are worried about a possible disruption of the existing strategic equilibrium, and first and foremost the danger of the Soviet nuclear arsenal being divided into national sections. Was this question raised during your trip?

[Silayev] During my talk with President Mitterrand, I stressed that the situation in the Ukraine is of concern to us. Although we do not think the proclamation of independence automatically entails the republic's secession from the present Union. Practically all the republics, except Russia and Kazakhstan, have now declared their independence.

I understand the concern of France and all the EC countries about the prospect of Ukraine's secession from the Union. After all, there is such a thing as the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. In the event of the Ukraine's secession, it will be violated. There will be one more nuclear power, with its own nuclear arsenal. That is food for thought for the community.

Returns Home, Comments

LD3011203691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1922 GMT 30 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Viktor Runov]

[Text] Moscow, 30 Nov (TASS)—Aid from Western partners will already begin to reach our country at the end of December and beginning of January, which will be the most difficult period for our country. This was stated by Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee [IEC], who has just returned to Moscow after paying a short visit to Paris. At the same time, he added, the credits that have been granted to us give us only a brief breathing space, which we must use to bring into action our own reserves.

Ivan Silayev revealed that France has confirmed its readiness to assist our country in finance and technological aid during the transition of our country's economy to a market track. He pointed out the key significance of the talks with Francois Mitterrand, president of France, who especially underlined that he supports the efforts undertaken to retain the Union of Sovereign Republics in its renewed form.

The chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee also met with Edith Cresson, French prime minister. "I was satisfied with the results of the talks, during which the granting of credits regarding the deliveries of grain and other types of food from France to the USSR was discussed," he underlined.

A joint communique was signed on the results of the talks, Ivan Silayev revealed, which in particular says that in order to relieve the acuteness of the food problem in the USSR, it has been decided to speed up the implementation of contracts on the deliveries of sugar, meat, dry milk, and childrens' food. The Soviet side will, in turn, reduce the timeframe of the reciprocal supply of fuel and raw materials, the chairman of the IEC underlined.

BILD Cited on Honecker Plans To Go to Chile

LD2911153991 Moscow TASS in English 1505 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Chistyakov]

[Text] Bonn November 29 TASS—Erich Honecker, former state and party leader of the German Democratic Republic, plans to leave the Soviet Union and settle in Chile, where his daughter is now living. According to the information, obtained by the newspaper BILD, he "secretly" met the Chilean ambassador in Moscow on Wednesday [27 November] and discussed with him his possible departure for Chile. The conversation took place "on a neutral territory," and Honecker was in a very good mood, the newspaper wrote.

According to BILD, Soviet diplomats are also exerting much effort to reach agreement with the Chilean authorities on the departure of the former GDR leader for Chile. Until this problem is settled, Moscow is not going to take action putting into effect Honecker's appeal to grant him a political asylum in the Soviet Union. The former German leader categorically refuses to return to Germany, where he is to face trial.

The Chilean Government has not given so far an official consent to Honecker's arrival on the grounds that he does not have a German passport for travelling abroad.

Reportage on Chief of Staff Lobov's Visit to UK

Lobov Previews Trip

LD2911134391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1257 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Nov (TASS)—"The very fact that a chief of General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces is conducting the first visit to Great Britain in our history confirms the consolidation of the new realities in international relations and the desire of our countries for dialogue in all spheres, including the military sphere", Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of the General Staff of USSR Armed Forces, has stated. He gave an interview today to your TASS correspondent prior to his visit to Great Britain which begins on 1 December.

According to Gen. Lobov, the vigorous Soviet-British dialogue has played a positive role in the radical transformations that have occurred in the world in recent years. "Great Britain is a country with which we have ties going back centuries", Vladimir Lobov noted.

According to the chief of General Staff, Russia and Britain have been allies on more than one occasion over a long period. "There are pages of various hues in the histories of our countries, but we should extract only the positive experience from our earlier relationship", Vladimir Lobov emphasized. "One would very much like to believe in a better future for our countries and peoples. And I think that is how it will be", he said in conclusion.

Arrives 1 Dec

LD0112231691 Moscow TASS in English 2012 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Text] London December 1 TASS—Chief of the Soviet General Staff Vladimir Lobov, first deputy Soviet defence minister, on Sunday [1 December] arrived in London at the invitation of his British counterpart Richard Vincent.

During his six-day visit, Lobov will hold talks with the high-ranking British military, attend British land forces war games and visit a nuclear submarine base in Scotland, an air base in Suffolk and a pilot training centre.

Armed Forces General Staff Group Visits UK

LD3011063591 Moscow TASS in English 2019 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Sidorov]

[Text] London November 29 TASS—A working group of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces has concluded its first visit to Britain. The group was headed by General Leonid Kulagin, deputy chief of the Main Directorate of the General Staff. The main purpose of the visit was to hold consultations of experts who are directly engaged in the development of the military strategy in the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom.

Local military observers noted that on the West's initiative the USSR joined for the first time in such negotiations that had earlier been conducted in the framework of the North Atlantic alliance.

The sides discussed military doctrines, exchanged opinions on the reorganisation of the Armed Forces of the two countries in conditions when the cold war has ended and intensive transformations are taking place in Central and Eastern Europe. The theme of disarmament, reduction of strategic and conventional arms in Europe, was in the focus.

The British delegation headed by deputy chief of Defence Staff, Rear Admiral Jonathan Todd, showed particular interest in the course of the military reform in the USSR and in the problem of controlling nuclear arms that are deployed in the territories of several Soviet republics.

The sides have not made any specific decisions, but representatives of both delegations noted that the negotiations resulted in the strengthening of mutual understanding and confidence. It was decided to conduct such consultations regularly.

Supreme Soviet

Draft Treaty on Collective Security Compiled

LD3011222191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 2000 GMT 30 Nov 91

[From the "New Wave" program]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet has compiled a draft treaty on collective security. It envisages the establishment of a single security area on the territory of the participating states. According to the draft, it is planned to set up united Armed Forces, which will include all strategic forces from other centralized services protecting the security of the participating states. The draft allows for the participants to set up their own Armed Forces, but without nuclear weapons. It is proposed to have tactical nuclear weapons eliminated. In accordance with the draft, the united Armed Forces will be financed from extrabudgetary sources and from the common budget on the basis of proportional contributions by states. The draft treaty provides both for equal and associated membership.

Deputies Examine State Security Bills

LD2911092691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1300 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] At its morning session, the Soviet of Republics of the USSR Supreme Soviet examined for the second time the draft bill regarding the reorganization of state security bodies. The deputies were addressed by the chairman of the Interrepublic Security Service. Today it is expected that the USSR president will sign a decree setting up a state commission for the reorganization of the country's security bodies. Parliamentary correspondent Aleksandr Ruvinskiy is here to provide you with the details.

[Ruvinskiy] Indeed this was one of the questions examined today at the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The two chambers, both the chamber of the Soviet of the Union and the chamber of the Soviet of Republics, worked quite intensively today.

At the session of the Soviet of Republics, after the addresses by Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin and Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov, who were asked quite a number of questions, the deputies agreed to vote virtually without debate in favor of this draft bill.

But the point is, as happens frequently at the sessions of our Supreme Soviet, it turned out that there was no quorum and the vote was postponed for a few hours. To all appearances, however, the deputies do not have any serious objections against adopting this draft law.

I asked Beksultan Bekmoldovich Ishimov, member of the Committee for Security of the Soviet of Republics and a people's deputy from Kyrgyzstan, to tell us of its very essence.

[Begin Ishimov recording] Concerning the essence precisely of the (?draft) law to date I see that enshrined in it are two main principles:

First, the principle of disintegration, that is to say, the transformation of this so called "monster"—or, as we have become accustomed to say "state within the state"—of the state security committee into three independent departments, that is to say, the Central Intelligence Service, the Interrepublic Security Service and the Committee for Guarding the State Border by the Joint Command of Border Troops.

The point is that precisely this "monster" was one of the first causes of the putsch, the well-known putsch which took place in our country.

This was done with a view to achieving such an uncoupling of the leadership into the given sub-units, for there not to be a combined command as is usual in the troops, in our country.

Enshrined here, too, a second main principle—this is the principle of decentralization—has been enshrined. That is to say, the republic security services come under the jurisdiction of the sovereign states.

Well, and the relations between the center and the republics are implemented only on a single treaty basis, that is to say on the basis of the signing of bilateral agreements and treaties. [end recording]

[Ruvinskiy] The USSR Supreme Soviet will today conduct a joint sitting of the chambers. It will be devoted to budgetary matters. Well, and of course, in the course of the day the deputies of both chambers returned more than once to our Union treaty, which, as is known, was not initialled. Why did this happen? This was also the subject of debate today in the chamber of the Soviet of Republics and the deputies plan to return to this again in the near future.

Future Union Parliament Structure, Staff Viewed

LD2711190491 Moscow TASS in English 1855 GMT 27 Nov 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow November 27 TASS—The existing parliament apparatus is no longer able to meet modern requirements, people's deputies concluded as a result of today's full-scale discussion of the future Union parliament's structure and staff.

Plans to restructure the apparatus might result in making 1,000 specialists redundant.

A new model, devised by the lower chamber's Committee for Inner-Chamber Affairs, is based on the decentralization principle, making both chambers and parliamentary committees independent.

According to this model, the Union parliament's staff will comprise three independent parts—the apparatus of a chamber, the apparatus of parliamentary committees and the common apparatus of both chambers. Speakers in the discussion insisted that the total number of staffers and sectors should by no means be increased.

They agreed with the concept of apparatus reform but suggested changes in its personnel structure. A corresponding committee was instructed to sum up the latest proposals, which will be followed by a discussion of the problem at a plenary session of the Council of the Union.

Draft Law on Detention Rights Voted Down

LD2711115391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1602 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Nov (TASS)—The Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet today voted down the draft law "Regarding Court Control of the Legality of a Citizen's Arrest or Detention in Custody."

In the course of the debate the deputies drew attention to the fact that in the procedural dispute all sides must be placed in equal conditions. In their view, in the proposed draft law some clauses leave room for an arbitrary interpretation of this provision.

The draft law envisages that no one can be subjected to arrest or detention in custody other than on the basis of a court decision or a procurator's sanction. Only a court can examine a complaint about an arrest, and in that case the judge makes an individual decision. There is an obligation to examine the arrested person's complaint in a court on the territory where he is held in custody. The judge issues a ruling in which reasons must be given for the decision to satisfy the complaint or reject it.

In accordance with the draft, when a complaint is examined, the procurator who sanctioned the arrest of the suspect or of the accused, representatives of the prosecution and the defendant must be present. The deputies stressed that only such a procedure can avoid errors and arbitrary appraisals in the exercise of court control of the legality of citizens' arrest or detention in custody.

Council of Republics Passes Credit Resolution

OW2811195591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1756 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Council of the Republics of the Union parliament has approved the parliament's resolution on the USSR State Bank's credits for the all-Union spending in 1991.

The resolution allows the USSR State Bank to extend a 90-billion credit to the USSR Ministry of Finances for the 4th quarter of the year.

The document must also be approved by the Council of the Union. However, in the absence of the quorum its meeting did not take place. The next meeting was scheduled for Tuesday, December 3.

This means that the financing of the current spending will be terminated on Monday, said experts of the USSR State Bank.

Deputy's Protest of Budget Decision Debated

LD2911121491 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1000 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By parliamentary correspondent Andrey Nikforov; from the "New Wave" program]

[Excerpts] One chamber is working here today at the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Soviet of the Republics. I would say that it is devoting most of the time to its own internal problems. The structure of the chamber's committees was approved fairly quickly, and they spent rather a long time, so to speak, on considering the subject of the structure of the chamber's apparatus, meaning the service personnel who are meant to provide backup for the chamber's committees. [passage omitted]

You know, there was one more very interesting event at today's session. It happened at the beginning of the session. The point is, the coordinator of the Russian delegation, [Aleksandr] Kotenkov, made a protest on behalf of the Russian delegation, a protest concerning yesterday's adoption by the Soviet of the Republics of a decision on the emergency budget. You will recall that it was to do with a 90 billion ruble credit. In general, it is easily explained: There simply is nothing with which to pay people's wages, as they say. [passage omitted]

In principle, many deputies, including some Russian deputies, realize that the decision is absolutely necessary under present conditions. But nevertheless, the protest was made, the matter was debated again, and representatives of other republics spoke again. And, you know, the position of the Russian deputies can be explained like this. Generally speaking, there is no unity among those deputies themselves. Some believe there should be consultations with the leadership of the Russian Federation, if only with the presidium, on Monday; while others think this decision should be adopted, all the same, and without delay.

What can I say here? The Soviet of the Republics did not annul its decision, yesterday's decision on the emergency budget. Let me remind you that the Soviet of the Union did not adopt a decision on the matter yesterday, because of the lack of a quorum. Therefore, while the whole issue remains open, the Russian delegation will act on the basis of whatever decision is adopted by the presidium of Russia's Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted]

Deputy Explains Emergency Budget Provisions

LD2911132191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Correspondent Nikolay Artemyev report from USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Republics session]

[Text] [Artemyev] On the agenda today of the Soviet of Republics—and only this chamber sitting—it is planned to examine questions regarding the structure of the apparatus of the chamber and of the committee and to set about discussing the law concerning the reorganization of the security bodies. But the question of the emergency budget again arose this morning.

At yesterday's plenary session there had been heated debates on this matter. The Soviet of Republics by a majority vote supported the decision on the emergency budget. And this morning a protest was made by the Russian delegation. And now I invited to our microphone member of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet and of the USSR Supreme Soviet Ilya Konstantinov. Ilya Vladislavovich, could you explain this situation for our listeners?

[Konstantinov] The point is that yesterday and the day before yesterday the question of the emergency budget for the fourth quarter of the current year was discussed by the USSR Supreme Soviet. The debate was difficult and laborious. There are indeed many problems and in the final analysis the decision was made to examine this question separately in the two chambers.

The Soviet of Republics, of which I am a member from Russia, took the following decision: to examine not the draft budget but the giving of additional credit to the Union state for the fourth quarter of 1991. And a corresponding decision was adopted by the Soviet of the Republics which confirms giving a credit of up to 90 billion rubles—it is said there—for the expenditures of the Union state.

[Artemyev] It turns out that the Russian delegation also voted in favor of this.

[Konstantinov] The Russian delegation did not have a quorum yesterday at the session but those who were attending the session—18 members of the Soviet of the Republics—voted in favour of this decision.

But the procedure for the adoption of decisions by the Soviet of Republics is such that decisions are taken by a majority vote. For this, a consensus is not required, unlike the procedure for adopting a law. Therefore, from a formal point of view, the decision of the Soviet of Republics is regarded as having been passed.

[Artemyev] That is to say, the credit must be handed out?

[Konstantinov] That is to say, the credit must be handed out. Inasmuch as the Soviet of Republics is the upper chamber of the Supreme Soviet, we will be able to regard the decisions of the Soviet of Republics as final.

True, Kotenkov's address now testifies to the fact that a proportion of the Russian leadership has come out against this decision and, evidently, will try to object to it.

[Artemyev] Kotenkov did make such a protest?

[Konstantinov] Kotenkov made such a protest and stated that on Monday the matter would be examined at the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. But I, for my part, must remark that, evidently, it is not expeditious to rescind the decision made by the Soviet of Republics because if we stop giving credit, then wages will not be paid out in December to workers in Union enterprises and organizations—and a considerable proportion of them is situated on Russia's territory. Therefore simply, and proceeding from the interests of our fellow citizens, our compatriots, it is necessary to continue giving credit at least for the next few months.

[Artemyev] This was the view of USSR and RSFSR People's Deputy Ilya Konstantinov. The Union parliament is continuing its work.

Parliamentarians Meet European Counterparts

LD2811234691 Moscow TASS in English 1851 GMT 27 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Pershin]

[Text] Moscow November 27 TASS—The Soviet Union has so far no clear programs to use credits granted by the European Communities, such is the conclusion made after today's meeting in the Kremlin between Konstantin Lubenchenko, chairman of the Soviet Parliament's Council of the Union and his colleagues with a delegation from the European parliament.

Lubenchenko explained the absence of such programs with the fact that the agreement on economic community has not been completely introduced. In his words, every republic has its own plans on the humanitarian aid.

As a result, the delegation showed little enthusiasm in response to the calls for "all sorts of help", expressing its interest only in prospects for the conclusion of a treaty on community of sovereign states and various aspects of the internal political situation in the Soviet Union.

The aim of the European parliament's mission was to collect facts for their report at the current session of the European Communities, the last part of which will dwell on granting the Soviet Union economic assistance and credits, including those to overcome the consequences of the Chernobyl accident.

The delegation has already visited Saint Petersburg and Minsk. They are also expected to meet leadership of the Russian Government and Parliament, as well as the Moscow City Council.

Union Treaty, Budget Matters To Be Discussed

LD2911200391 Moscow TASS in English 1822 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Aleksandr Dzyublo and Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—The upper chamber of the Union parliament, a Council of the Republics, will begin discussing on Tuesday [2 December] the draft treaty on the Union of Sovereign States. This decision has been adopted today at a plenary meeting of the upper chamber of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Various proposals were expressed during a prolonged exchange of opinions. It was proposed that the draft be discussed after parliaments of sovereign states participating in negotiations at Novo-Ogarevo adopt their decisions. But most deputies rejected this idea. A number of parliamentarians suggested that the draft treaty be discussed immediately, at the evening meeting. However, it was decided to continue work on the text of the draft treaty in delegations of the republics until Tuesday.

The discussion of the draft union treaty in the other chamber, the Council of the Union, is also planned for Tuesday.

The Council of the Republics also decided to resume at the forthcoming meetings the discussion of the allocation by the USSR State Bank of a credit of 90.5 billion rubles for the Union's Finance Ministry for the end of the year, that was requested by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev. The matter seemed to be decided yesterday, but Russia's delegation protested against the decision. It was reasoned that deputies voted contrary to the regulations.

Reorganization of KGB To Be Discussed

OW2911133491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1100 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet has continued its work in Moscow on November 29. The upper chamber—the Council of the Republics—will concentrate on the draft Union treaty. The deputies are also planning to discuss ways of reorganizing the KGB, and the financial and social guarantees for ex-members of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The lower chamber—the Council of the Union—will work in its permanent committees which will consider the draft treaty of the republics on collective security, the fundamentals of criminal proceedings, as well as the functions of the government bodies during the transitional period.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Interviewed on New Union Prospects

LD2711161191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1416 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Interview with President Mikhail Gorbachev by Tsushin Katsumi Endo, KYODO editor in chief; place and date not given]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Nov (TASS)—USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev gave an interview to Tsushin Katsumi Endo, editor in chief of the Japanese Agency KYODO.

[Endo] How do you see the prospects for a future new Union? When will the elections for the president of the new Union and the Supreme Soviet be held; do you intend to stand?

[Gorbachev] What will our Union be like? The question could have been put more bluntly: Does it have a future? This is now, undoubtedly, a key question for our country, for all its peoples, and for me too. Lately I have expounded my point of view repeatedly and I am convinced: Dependent on the reply to this question—what will become of the Union—is whether our reforms will take place and the course of events in the international arena, too. My reply, which I, myself, and the leaders of the new sovereign republics-states have arrived at gradually and which was determined as a result of the difficult, dramatic processes of perestroyka in our entire society, is as follows. The new Union is a confederative democratic state with a single economic space based on present-day market principles. It is a single defense policy and unified armed forces, absolute unified control of nuclear and other strategic arsenals. It is a coordinated policy of ensuring the security of the Union, without which the security of the states making it up is unthinkable. It is a common foreign policy course as a world power in such matters as disarmament, regional conflicts, economic and ecological security, human rights and a worldwide role in the most significant international associations and organizations.

The Union will have common territory, citizenship, and coordinating functions in the sphere of ecology, fundamental sciences, education, and culture. In the new Union there should be a president who will be elected by the majority of the entire country's population, with really powerful structures delegated to him in accordance with the Union treaty.

There should be a parliament consisting of two chambers, one of which would be elected by the population as well, and the other—upper—chamber would be made up of representatives of the sovereign republics.

These are my views on the problem of a new statehood in general. Judging by the sittings of the State Council on 14 and 25 November, it has similar approaches.

The draft new treaty on the Union of Sovereign States has been published. The process has entered its decisive stage.

[Endo] The stabilization of the economy appears to be the main task for the normal functioning of a new state system. How do you see the ways for resolving such problems as the foreign debt and the budget deficit? Will it be possible to ensure a smooth transfer to a market?

[Gorbachev] You are correct to put the question this way, but the dependency the other way is just as important: no economy, including a free or market economy, would work without orderly statehood. What is more, we will not extricate ourselves out of the crisis without it.

The Economic Community Treaty was signed by 10 republics. The Interstate Economic Committee has started its work. Relevant bodies attached to it are being set up, in particular for managing power engineering, transport and communications.

According to the economic program announced by President B.N. Yeltsin for the largest republic of the Union—Russia—the reform is acquiring new momentum and new scale.

The Union structures will do everything in their power for its success. The task is more than complicated and far from painless as far as the population is concerned, but there is no alternative to a bold and resolute onward march if the process is competently regulated. I am convinced that through a free market, through free enterprise, we will succeed in bringing our enormous economic potential into play, in raising the efficiency of production, and in gradually removing the acuteness of the problems of budget deficit and external debt. We value the understanding of and the support for our efforts on the part of the leading industrial countries of the world, including Japan. The recent round of talks in Moscow with the representatives of the G-7 made it possible to arrive at decisions that will help us overcome the hard currency and financial crisis.

[Endo] Do you intend, in the course of the second round of talks on reducing strategic offensive weapons, to propose major cuts in strategic nuclear arsenals, including the intercontinental ballistic missiles, among them the SS-18 and the SS-25 and also submarine-based ballistic missiles?

[Gorbachev] The Soviet-American treaty envisages, as is known, an approximate 40 percent cut in the most powerful arms of both countries. It is a major step, but it is only the first step. At a meeting with President George Bush held in Washington way back in June 1990 we agreed that once the strategic offensive arms treaty is signed, consultations on the next stage of cuts will begin. Such consultations are under way.

A major, fundamentally new point in the process of disarmament was the initiative of President Bush and my counter-initiative, as a result of which initiatives our strategic offensive weapons will be reduced to the level of 5,000 warheads instead of the 6,000 envisaged by the treaty on strategic offensive weapons. It is now evident that major nuclear armament reductions will be achieved significantly quicker than was envisaged quite recently.

Regarding the specific levels to which it will be possible to reduce strategic offensive weapons at the next stage, various options are possible, for instance a 50 percent reduction of the levels which are fixed in the treaty on strategic offensive weapons. Of course, the radical reductions will also affect the ICBM and SLBM types mentioned in your question.

[Endo] In October, replying to U.S. President George Bush's proposal, you expressed readiness to destroy all the tactical nuclear weapon arsenals. In what time can the practical implementation of this intention be expected? In particular, can you please disclose details of the plans for reduction of nuclear arsenals in the Asiatic region.

[Gorbachev] The destruction of all tactical nuclear weapons is possible on a basis of mutuality, but we and the Americans are liquidating a significant part of them unilaterally, so to speak, by mutual example. I remind you that for our part it is a question of the liquidation of all nuclear artillery ammunition and nuclear warheads for tactical missiles, and also nuclear mines. Nuclear warheads of surface-to-air missiles are being withdrawn from troops, are being stored at central bases and some of them are being liquidated. All tactical nuclear weapons are being removed from surface ships and multi-purpose submarines.

These weapons, and also land-based nuclear weapons of the naval aviation, are stored in centralized storage areas, and some of them are being eliminated. Overall about 15,000 nuclear weapons are to be eliminated. A substantial proportion of them are in the Asian-Pacific region. We would like to carry out the process of elimination as quickly as technically possible.

Of course, the dismantling of nuclear warheads and the destruction of nuclear weapons is not a simple matter, and you can't solve the problem in a few hours. Considerable financial and material resources will be required, and cooperation with the countries possessing high technology and great financial potential is desirable. We are also counting on Japan's participation in this cooperation, her business circles have shown interest in the conversion we have begun.

We are beginning a specific dialogue with the United States on developing safe and ecologically reliable technology for storing and transporting nuclear warheads, and methods of utilizing nuclear weapons and raising nuclear safety. The Americans are taking as a basis the possibility of eliminating sea and land based tactical weapons that have been removed in approximately three years. We will strive to eliminate our weapons in a comparable timescale.

[Endo] As sovereignty shifts from the Union to the republics, there is growing concern in the world regarding control over Soviet nuclear weapons. How do you intend to maintain the reliability of this control in the future?

[Gorbachev] This is primarily a political matter, although it does have an essentially technical side to it. At the moment, the Union center does have full and comprehensive control over nuclear weapons irrespective of their geographical location. It is in the interests of our people and the world to maintain this.

Any "nationalization" by republics of nuclear weapons is out of the question. It is one thing to discuss the republics' role in the command structure for the country's unified Armed Forces; ambitious claims to possession of nuclear nuclear weapons are something entirely different. The anxieties to which you refer will be dispelled once and for all when the question of our new statehood is resolved. In addition to unified and unconditional control over the nuclear arsenal, there will be a full guarantee against accidental or unsanctioned use of it.

We are willing to discuss all these matters with the other nuclear powers. We welcome George Bush's proposal to cooperate in the safe storage and transportation of nuclear armaments.

[Endo] What is your opinion on the possibility of resolving the "Northern Territories" problem? How do you see relations of cooperation between the new Union and Japan?

[Gorbachev] A final postwar settlement, conclusion of a peace treaty with a mutually-acceptable solution to the problem of territorial demarcation, represents one of our most important foreign policy goals.

On the basis of the summit meeting in Tokyo in April 1991, we are striving to accelerate work on a peace treaty which, as is known, also provides for the territorial issue being resolved. This is a joint position of the Union and Russian leadership. Development of cooperation in all areas is of enormous significance for success of this work and it must be said that the results are already visible. We moved closer to each other in the space of half a year than over decades. The political dialogue and ties between our societies are taking on large-scale character indeed. Japan's readiness to help us in difficult times will be duly appraised by our people. I think that in the new atmosphere it is possible to cut significantly the time it takes to arrive at a peace treaty.

History has a rhythm of its own and at times, as the unification of Germany has shown, it overtakes the boldest of forecasts and expectations. It is important not to form the natural process, not to unintentionally cause a recoil wave. So that the spectre of the past never comes back to life again, we have to traverse a difficult path of mutual rapprochement, without trying to skip over stages which are essential. The most reliable strategy in this sensitive matter is to move forward without pausing for even a second, building up a potential of trust and cooperation. Here, the potential of our countries is truly boundless. Bilateral relations, setting up a security and economic development zone in Northeast Asia, strengthening of peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region, concerted actions in tackling global problems, cooperation in the United Nations—one cannot list them all. A politician's intuition tells me that in the foreseeable future our relations can become more dynamic than any other. I take this opportunity to convey good wishes to the Japanese people. My meeting with them in April will remain in my memory for ever. I express the hope that there will be mutual understanding and a fruitful dialogue with Mr. Miyazawa, the new prime minister of Japan.

Gorbachev Meets Sculptor Neizvestnyy

PM0212134391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by G. Melikyants: "University Fellows Have Met in Kremlin; M. Gorbachev's Talk With E. Neizvestnyy"]

[Excerpts] It looks as though new "subjects" are becoming habitual in President M. Gorbachev's packed schedule. Among his meetings with politicians, economists and captains of foreign business, in November alone he twice met also with people from the arts. When an SOS call is heard in connection with the conditions of existence of our incredibly deprived culture, these meetings are rightly noted as a sign of attention toward the spiritual aspect of our confused existence.

It is true that so far these have been meetings with Mikhail Shemyakin and now with Ernst Neizvestnyy, with whom M. Gorbachev talked 28 November in his Kremlin office—artists who in the past were seized by the country's authorities and forced to leave. Nonetheless, not giving a free rein to their grievance, they are sympathizing with the motherland's woes and helping it as far as they can. [passage omitted]

The talk with M. Gorbachev began at 1600 hours—a quite busy time for the president. But the interlocutors were in no hurry. After a warm handshake Neizvestnyy noted that he, too, studied at Moscow University, but in the philosophy department. Gorbachev responded with a joke, saying that he had also visited that department, where he had found himself a wife. In general, Mikhail Sergeyevich continued in earnest, in the philosophy department then there were many talented young people who thought hard....

The talk, which was intimate rather than businesslike and which had no set program, touched on the sculptor's creative plans and on modern sociopolitical problems.

Political Consultative Council Meeting Discussed

Union Treaty Conclusion Urged

LD3011184291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1749 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 30 Nov (TASS)—The participants in today's meeting of the Political Consultative Council attached to the USSR president's office have called for the speedy conclusion of the Union treaty.

"This is in the fundamental interests of the peoples. It is very acutely needed for the stabilization of the political and socio-economic situation in the country," says the official statement on the results of the meeting. "Without such stabilization, without a political Union of the Sovereign States, the prospects for the radical economic reforms so urgently needed at the moment for ending the crisis in the country and improving the people's living conditions, will be seriously jeopardized." Mistakes in regard to this highly important question will have the most negative consequences.

Despite their varying nuances of approach and opinion, the participants in the meeting expressed "very serious concern about the lack of a constructive, businesslike dialogue between various democratic movements and social and political organizations in the sovereign republics and the country as a whole."

The implementation of the Economic Community Treaty, very active organizational and explanatory work in the interests of civic accord, and the achievement of social partnership at all levels are the components of contemporary policy, without which it will be impossible to preserve the democratic gains of the recent past and to achieve success in those drastic reforms, on the threshold of which the country now stands.

Sobchak Comments on Meeting

LD2911234291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Report by V. Perfilyev on a Political Consultative Council meeting chaired by President Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow on 29 November, incorporating interview with St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak—recorded]

[Text] This is the fourth meeting of the council and, as at previous meetings, the agenda included matters of primary state importance. A report was heard from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on the latest meetings of the State Council. Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev described his trip to the United States and Soviet-U.S. consultations on strategic stability. The mayors of Moscow and St. Petersburg, Gavriil Popov and Anatoliy Sobchak, reported on the situation in those cities on the eve of moving into the free market. [Video shows about 10 members seated around table; those identifiable are Gorbachev, Yakovlev, Shevardnadze, Popov, Yavlinskiy, Sobchak, Bakatin.]

Here is an interview conducted after the council's meeting:

[Begin Sobchak recording] In effect, the discussion of all three matters on the agenda came down to discussion of a single matter: the main issue affecting the life of the country at this difficult period—survival. This is the question of food supplies and of creating a system to prevent a collapse of food supplies, particularly in the major industrial centers and in particular regions of the country. It is also a question of ensuring medical supplies, since an agreement for medical supplies for 1992 has not yet been concluded. There are also questions of fuel supplies to provide heating for the coming winter. These matters were discussed in their broad political sense. It was unanimously agreed that unless accords on general political and economic issues are attained it will be impossible to deal with these matters in the context of individual republics. These are issues that can be resolved only at the level of definite all-Union accords, or within the context of the country as a whole—whatever it might be called. Perhaps an accord on these very matters could become the first real step for the creation of a fundamentally new kind of statehood, for developing a way of working in a fundamentally new system of relationships among the republics.

Our council is a consultative one, albeit political, but still of a consultative nature. For that reason we do not make any kind of binding decisions, but we do develop and exchange certain views, develop a certain political line for tackling such issues. As of today there is just one political line—to overcome as rapidly as possible the existing disagreements and conclude a political union as stated in the Union treaty, and begin as soon as possible to put the economic accords into effect, first and foremost those concerning the three areas I mentioned. If we are unable to do that today, tomorrow will simply be too late. [end recording]

Shevardnadze's Future in 'Difficult Position'

OW2911130791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1100 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Government issued a decree yesterday provisionally placing the entire property of the USSR Ministry of External Relations, both within the USSR and abroad (Soviet embassies), under the control of the Foreign Ministry of the Russian Federation. Our correspondent was told in the Russian Foreign Ministry that the absence of a Union budget and "efficient central bodies" means that "the Union has no money whereas Russia does have some."

An officer from the USSR Ministry of External Affairs told our correspondent in an unofficial conversation that the measure "will put in a difficult position both the USSR External Affairs Ministry as a whole and Eduard Shevardnadze who heads it." He did not believe, however, that the decree had caught Mr. Shevardnadze unaware. He should have realized that the State Council's failure to initial the treaty on the Union of Sovereign States at its November 25 meeting would not facilitate the forming of a political union of the republics and hence would not benefit the Union diplomatic service.

The diplomat thought Mr. Shevardnadze should not have accepted the post of External Affairs Minister before the State Council meeting was over.

"Now that the prospects for a political union are pretty vague and the USSR External Affairs Ministry may find itself in financial dependence on the Russian Foreign Ministry, one of the two ministers—either Andrey Kozyrev or Eduard Shevardnadze—will eventually have to resign," the diplomat said.

Former Gorbachev Adviser Warns of Coup Threat

LD3011132491 Berlin ADN in German 1159 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Excerpt] Hamburg (ADN)—According to former Gorbachev adviser Vyacheslav Dashichev, there will be a danger of chaos and a new military coup if the West does not help Russia get through this winter. In an interview with the Sunday newspaper BILD AM SONNTAG, Dashichev said the putschists would then be able to find support among the starving population. [passage omitted]

Constitutional Compliance Committee Session Ends

Alekseyev Holds News Conference

LD2911233391 Moscow TASS in English 2213 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—"Organs of constitutional compliance continue to work in a normal regime", Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the USSR Committee of Constitutional Compliance, told a news conference following the committee's two-day session. He said that the questions that were raised and resolved at the meetings show that Union bodies linked with the key aspect of the state, law, remain effective.

Members of the committee, specifically, found as unconstitutional some acts regarding Nagorno-Karabakh, including the resolution of the Armenian Supreme Soviet on joining Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia and the resolution of the Azerbaijanian parliament liquidating the autonomy of Nagorno-Karabakh.

It was noted at the committee's meetings that the provisions of the law on the militia and state security bodies which jeopardised citizens' rights remain invalid or need to be revised. This applies to the tapping of telephone conversations, free access to houses, perlustration of letters.

The committee regards as dangerous for law and order and citizens' rights and liberties the practice when the Union or republics envisaged criminal and administrative responsibility for actions that are not defined clearly by law. For instance, "for non-observance of laws", "overt civil disobedience", "failure to take measures to eliminate conditions conducive to criminal offences". The committee urged the Supreme Soviets of the Union and republics to abrogate or revise such unspecific definitions.

Alekseyev told reporters that he was offered to head a scientific inter-republican centre of private law. He said that creating such an institute is extremely important for this society with its unconditional priority of public law formed under the state system. He said the development of private law protecting the individual and his property is necessary also for the establishment of market relations and development of enterprise.

Committee Examines Laws

LD2911234391 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Nov 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer A. Kondulukov] The session of the USSR Constitutional Compliance Committee concluded today. The committee demanded the revision of a number of clauses in the legislation concerning deputies' immunity. Legal experts consider that its boundaries are wider than can be justified and virtually place people's deputies outside the law.

[Begin Alekseyev recording] A number of local soviets will on no account give us their agreement to the prosecution of deputies when they have committed obvious crimes. [end recording]

[Kondulukov] Several clauses in the law on the militia and the state security bodies which threaten citizens' rights also require revision; that is, bugging telephone conversations, the unimpeded entry into homes, and a clause hindering the development of entrepreneurship also caused concern in the Constitutional Compliance Committee, as did the establishment in a number of republics of liability for crimes, the nature of which is comprehensible perhaps only to the legislators themselves—for example, not carrying out laws, open civil disobedience, or failure to take measures to eliminate the reasons and the conditions for infringements of the law. Such formulations do not only permit ambiguous interpretations but also license arbitrary behavior.

Primakov Holds 27 November News Conference

Discusses New Tasks

PM2911132991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Nov 91 p 1

[I. Kadulin: "New Philosophy of Intelligence Work"]

[Text] A press conference was held yesterday in the USSR Ministry of External Relations Press Center by Academician Yevgeniy Primakov, who two months ago became chief of the USSR KGB First Main Directorate (Intelligence). Since when, you will recall, the USSR KGB has begun to be called the Interrepublic Security Service [ISS], the First Main Directorate has been detached from the KGB and made an autonomous organization—the Central Intelligence Service [CIS]—and Academician Primakov has accordingly become CIS director.

In his second press conference in his new capacity, Primakov talked of the new tasks facing the organization with which he is entrusted. These tasks are based on a new philosophy of intelligence work, in Primakov's words: There are no permanent adversaries and no permanent allies, but there are permanent state interests. Where our interests coincide with other states' interests, cooperation between intelligence services is possible. In the sphere of combatting terrorism, controlling the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and so forth, Primakov said that there exist in the order of 20 critical technologies in the world which must be controlled by the whole world community.

As for the first results of his work, Primakov has already halted the activity of the First Main Directorate's foreign apparatus in the sphere of agent operations among officials of Soviet settlements abroad. And having revealed 12 days ago the existence within the First Main Directorate of a system of informing the country's leadership every two weeks about a missile attack suddenly being prepared against the USSR, he has halted its activity also.

Unfortunately, the new CIS chief could not clearly explain how the CIS and the USSR Ministry of Defense General Staff Main Intelligence Directorate, the military intelligence organization, will coordinate their activity.

Though occupying the post of a lieutenant general of the KGB, Primakov has decided to remain a civilian.

Adapting to New System Stressed

PM2911121691 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 91 p 6

[S. Filatov report on 27 November Moscow press conference by Ye. Primakov, head of the Central Intelligence Service (CIS): "The CIS Will Help Us To Protect the USSR"]

[Text] Moscow—The intelligence business is usually kept behind seven seals, and when even one of these seals is removed it always provokes great press interest. And so the hall was full for the press conference given by Ye. Primakov, the new chief of Soviet foreign intelligence, at the USSR Ministry of External Relations press center: Soviet and foreign journalists learned much of interest, from the horse's mouth.

Henceforth, in connection with the abolition of the KGB, intelligence work is assigned to an autonomous organization called the CIS, according to Ye. Primakov, it faces new tasks. First and foremost it is necessary to get rid of the inertia of confrontational thinking and adapt to a new system of international relations when there are no longer any permanent adversaries or allies, but state and national interests are paramount.

There is very broad scope for activity here. There is the monitoring of nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and critical technologies on the basis of which (and there are about 20 of these technologies) means of mass destruction could be developed. There is the stopping of secret arms sales and the prevention of terrorism and drug dealing operations. In this connection the CIS leader noted that it is difficult to deal with such matters in isolation, and therefore contacts are being established with various special services in order to promote more efficient work. The intelligence service is being deideologized, and it may be assumed that now, apart from the similarity in the names of the CIS and the CIA, they will have common concerns, too.

Ye. Primakov dispelled the journalists' doubts about the possible division of the foreign intelligence service among the new sovereign states that have formed out of the former Union republics. He cited the State Council's view on the need to maintain a unified CIS, but he did not deny that republics can set up any structures they need, including their own intelligence services.

Among the present leadership's achievements, mention was made of the instructions on ceasing operational work by agents among the Soviet colonies abroad, and also abolishing the system of surveillance for a surprise missile attack on the USSR, which used to send information "to the top" regularly every two weeks.

Foreign journalists were very interested in the KGB archives, and were told: The current intelligence operations archives will not be opened, but this does not apply to historical archives. A question on whether tapping foreigners' telephones in Moscow has stopped received this answer: This does not fall within the competence of foreign intelligence.

The KGB had nothing to do with the assassination attempt on the pope, Ye. Primakov stressed, we only helped to choose an attorney for the Bulgarian Antonov who was arrested in this case.

Bakatin Interviewed on Security Service

PM2811102591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Nov 91 First Edition p 3

["Abridged version" of interview with Vadim Bakatin, chief of the Interrepublic Security Service, by unidentified DER SPIEGEL journalist; place and date not given: "Vadim Bakatin: The Next Putsch Will Start in the Streets"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] The KGB is now called the Interrepublic Security Service. But shouldn't you first change the secret service staffers' ideology?

[Bakatin] This is one of the most difficult tasks. It cannot be solved merely by a substitution of people. Furthermore, we have no other people. All that will help now is sustained work to persuade each person individually.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will cadre cuts be the inevitable dividend of peace?

[Bakatin] Of course. Previously the KGB was obsessed with the idea of having its representatives throughout the world—even down to the most minor African country. It is quite clear that cadre cuts are essential. However, Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the USSR Central Intelligence Service, is now in charge of this sphere.

[DER SPIEGEL] What cadre cuts in foreign intelligence do you nevertheless consider essential?

[Bakatin] At a rough estimate a 50-percent cut would evidently not be a serious problem. In conditions when the world is becoming more complex, what is needed above all is effective intelligence. My desk is littered with information garbage which is often of no more value than newspaper cuttings. Here I must compliment DER SPIEGEL magazine: It published videotapes of the putschists' interrogations, and nobody knows where your magazine got them from. Can you tell me that?

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you expect an answer to your question?

[Bakatin] Of course not, I am not that naive.

[DER SPIEGEL] You are carrying on with vigorous espionage in Germany, you are listening in to telephone conversations from Karlshorst in Berlin.

[Bakatin] Quite possibly. But I have been in my post only two months and have not yet been to Karlshorst. Meanwhile, work against us, too, is being carried out—on quite a large scale.

[DER SPIEGEL] Can we at least find out whether the KGB disinformation department has ceased its activities?

[Bakatin] The KGB does not have such a department. But disinformation campaigns have predominantly arisen in our own country. As, for example, in Lithuania—with the claim that the people are allegedly ready to overthrow Landsbergis. The party and the KGB conducted this campaign together. And this operation's result is well known. We have great masters in this field, but there is absolutely no need for them.

[DER SPIEGEL] But former KGB General Kalugin breezily continues to engage in disinformation: He is saying that DER SPIEGEL is allegedly publishing KGB materials.

[Bakatin] Did the KGB have agents in DER SPIEGEL? You should ask Kalugin about that. I have no information on this question. However, so far Kalugin has given the impression of being a man with a sense of responsibility and really democratic convictions. Do you want to rub Kalugin's nose into the dirt?

[DER SPIEGEL] No, into the truth. From our viewpoint the Kalugin affair is yet more evidence that the KGB cannot be "the best secret service in the world," as you are claiming.

[Bakatin] Did I say that? My God. This is another example of disinformation. The KGB was not the best secret service. Maybe its former leaders thought so, but not I.

[DER SPIEGEL] Obviously the KGB was giving false information to its leadership and reported nothing about the fact that the USSR was losing the debate between the systems. It thereby assisted the Soviet Union's collapse.

[Bakatin] The fact that today our economy has been crippled and almost destroyed as a result of the constant arms race can be explained by the secret services' information policy. They were always claiming that we are lagging behind militarily, and our political leadership fully supported this. Now nobody knows how to transform our economy, which has been unilaterally preprogrammed to produce arms. But please do not force me into a conflict with this department. Its staffers are displeased with me as it is. But I have to continue working with them. As in all society, there are various types of people here. There are many reliable professionals and specialists. We will send ideological dogmatists into retirement. The traditions of chekism must be eradicated, chekism must cease to exist as an ideology. We must be guided by the law and not ideology.

[DER SPIEGEL] The Communist Party has been banned. Is that proper?

[Bakatin] I have serious doubts whether banning the party is compatible with a rule-of-law state if it does not follow a misanthropic ideology, does not preach racial hatred, and recognizes laws. But the desire to build communism—why not allow that?

[DER SPIEGEL] The KGB was not uninvolved in the August putsch?

[Bakatin] That is very likely true. Therefore all the top personnel were dismissed, but most staffers had nothing to do with it.

[DER SPIEGEL] In order to overcome the past is it not your duty to the millions of victims to open the archives?

[Bakatin] I am in favor of publishing the KGB's statistical data.

[DER SPIEGEL] Then please give the numbers of victims which in your opinion correspond to the facts.

[Bakatin] I need to obtain permission for that. But I will try to ensure that it is not kept secret. Parliament must decide the archives' fate, after adopting the relevant law.

[DER SPIEGEL] If there is now a legislative foundation for the secret service's current activities, should it allow arrests without a court decision, tapping telephone conversations, intrusion into homes, and the use of physical force?

[Bakatin] The sensational law on the KGB adopted in May still serves as our rule-of-law foundation. To that must be added 5,000 old instructions signed by the Council of Ministers or somebody else.

We must study this carefully and create new legislative foundations in the republics, taking account of the entire international experience.

[DER SPIEGEL] But surely somebody has to monitor the state security organs?

[Bakatin] First of all parliamentary monitoring must be organized. Furthermore, we would like to establish a public council for monitoring the secret services.

[DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Bakatin, was the August putsch a surprise to you?

[Bakatin] We had been preoccupied with the subject of a coup for several months. By then nobody believed it any more. Disinformation was also taking place.

[DER SPIEGEL] Where will the next attempted coup come from?

[Bakatin] The next putsch will start on the streets.

Moscow Airport Passengers Seize Airplanes

LD2911170991 Moscow TASS in English 1541 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Ignatyev]

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—Passengers waiting for delayed flights from Domodedovo Airport to Siberia and the Far East expressed their outrage yesterday by organising striking committees, seizing airplanes and threatening to occupy the runways.

About five thousand passengers were kept waiting in Domodedovo last night, while some three thousand crowded into Vnukovo Airport. Their flights to the Ukraine and north Caucasus were postponed due to a lack of fuel and poor weather conditions. Some passengers returned their tickets and left by train, while others remained at the airport, waiting three times longer than it would have taken them to travel by train.

As the central dispatching service of the Aviation Ministry reports, the fuel supplies to the airports is getting worse each day.

Spokesman Comments on Ukraine Election Results

LD0212124691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1118 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Batyrev]

[Text] Paris, 2 Dec (TASS)—Today the Ukraine needs the Union and the Union needs the Ukraine. Andrey Grachev, an official spokesman of the USSR president, stated this today when commenting on the initial results of the referendum which took place in the Ukraine on Sunday, in an interview with the French radio station "France-Infos."

In the view of A. Grachev, now "every republic is trying, in its own distinctive way, to say 'farewell' to the past," to break with a past connected with the existence of a "centralized empire, governed by bureaucrats from Moscow." However, to restore "more natural and, consequently, more stable ties within the framework of a new Union, a little more time is necessary, a little less emotion, and rather more reason and good sense." This will possibly require some time, however I am certain that the peoples of the USSR, which have history and daily reality in common, will come together to create a Union in some form, A. Grachev concluded.

In the view of the Soviet president's official representative, there are no grounds for concern regarding the fate of the USSR's nuclear arsenal. He noted that "after certain clumsy leaders made some not very well formulated statements, a general understanding has emerged that nuclear weapons are not an argument in the domestic political struggle."

Falin Views Perestroyka, Gorbachev, New Putsch

AU2911173591 Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 26 Nov 91 p 8

[Interview with Valentin Falin, former secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by Roland Heine; place and date not given: "Danger of a Rebellion Against Any Kind of Power"]

[Text] [Heine] The August putsch meant the end of perestroyka in the USSR, which you had also supported. Why did perestroyka fail?

[Falin] Perestroyka failed because the reform ideas, which had been developed in our circles for decades, were not implemented appropriately in organizational, political, and personnel terms. Many things were done at the wrong time, necessary laws were not passed, mechanisms that were rightly abolished were not replaced by others. In many places there were people who were able to tear down the old structures but were unable to creatively shape new things. People acted in line with new dogmas but not in line with the realities. I myself knew long before the putsch that the country would become ungovernable, and actually I had applied for my retirement as of August.

[Heine] How do you assess Gorbachev's role in this connection?

[Falin] Our number one man has at least three big weaknesses. First, until now he has not understood the nature of the term "time." For him time is somehow neutral, even though this is impossible—particularly when such dynamic processes are taking place in our country: Everything must be done at the right time. Second, Gorbachev has no eye for the character and abilities of the people whom he gathers around him—nine out of 10 personnel decisions were wrong. And, finally, Gorbachev has been less and less able to take other people's views into consideration. Over the years deviating standpoints have started to irritate him increasingly.

[Heine] Your words strongly remind one of the criticism of Gorbachev voiced by Boris Yeltsin as early as in 1987.

[Falin] Yes, in this respect there is general agreement. Gorbachev is a man of compromise. However, at a time when a tyrannical regime is to be replaced with a democratic system, compromises are inappropriate. One must make a basic choice, and one must not try to find the lesser of two evils. I have always thought that Stalinism could not be eliminated homeopathically, bit by bit. What was necessary was the complete truth about how an antisocialist system could develop to replace socialism.

[Heine] After Yeltsin's ouster in 1987 the CPSU leadership tried to bury the matter as quickly as possible. As the then chief of the NOVOSTI news agency you opposed the media ban imposed on Boris Yeltsin. How do you see Yeltsin in autumn 1991?

[Falin] Yeltsin has proved to be a great fighter. I do not want to try to compare Gorbachev's and Yeltsin's mental potentials, but Yeltsin is clearly stronger regarding organizational matters. Yeltsin has more respect for the people whom he himself has called the brains of the country. He takes their advice seriously, and this has often helped him. In contrast to the compromise politician Gorbachev, Yeltsin is a man who wants profound changes. To a great extent it is due to him that in August we were not thrown back to the past. Therefore, I said at that time that the party should be grateful to Yeltsin for this achievement.

[Heine] In the meantime, the same Yeltsin has banned the Communist Party in Russia.

[Falin] This does not change anything regarding the justification of my statement at that time. However, of course I do not agree with the undemocratic actions against the party. In the end, this will not benefit anyone. The means must not again be justified by referring to the allegedly noble ends.

[Heine] Over the past few weeks various sides have repeatedly warned against a new putsch. Is this just panic-mongering for political reasons or is it a real danger?

[Falin] I see this as a justified concern regarding the consequences of a complete economic collapse. It is the concern that a mood against any kind of power might develop among the population—no matter whether this power comes from the right or the left, no matter whether its proponent is Gorbachev, Yeltsin, or Kravchuk.

[Heine] At the moment there are several groups in Russia that consider themselves as the new, democratic left. After seven decades of rule by the Communist Party in the country, do such groups still have a future?

[Falin] In my view, leftist parties objectively have their place in a society as long as there are employers and employees. No one can probably predict at the moment what such a party will look like in Russia. After what I saw with my own eyes and experienced with my heart, one thing is clear for me: I will not join any party. This does not mean that I say that my view of the world is wrong. It has nothing to do with the distortion of the socialist idea over the past decades. This idea has existed not just since Marx, it is at least 2,000 years old: social justice, national justice, human justice.

'Soyuz' Cochairman Views Political Situation

PM2911134391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Nov 91 First Edition p 4

["Political Self-Portrait" interview with USSR People's Deputy Viktor Alksnis, cochairman of "Soyuz" Deputies Group, by Captain Third Rank V. Yermolin; place and date not given: "Viktor Alksnis: I Grieve for the Single Area"—first five paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Like previous guests of the "Political Self-Portrait" rubric—RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputy Sergey Yushenkov and USSR People's Deputy Aleksandr Shchelkanov—USSR People's Deputy Viktor Alksnis was "summoned" to appear in the paper by readers' letters. It is easy to see that the new rubric is becoming a kind of meeting place for political opposites. We will remind you that our main criterion is that "Political Self-Portrait" should primarily present an individual—in politics or social life. An individual who reflects the mood of a far from narrow circle of people. We think that this time, too, we have complied with this condition.

Viktor Imantovich Alksnis. Born 1950. A Lett. Born in Siberia. Resident in Riga since 1957.

His grandfather—Yakov Alksnis, member of the Bolshevik Party from 1916, a division commissar during the civil war, and chief of the Red Army Air Forces from 1931—was repressed and shot in 1938.

Viktor Alksnis graduated from the Yakov Alksnis Aviation School (named for his grandfather) and received military training as a radio engineer. He is a colonel. Recently, before becoming a professional politician, he serviced MIG-29 aircraft.

In 1989 Alksnis was elected USSR people's deputy. He has been cochairman of the "Soyuz" deputies group since 1991.

[Yermolin] Viktor Imantovich, bitter experience for former Soviet people or "Sovki," as they are now known, is accumulating with every passing day. What do you think it will teach us?

[Alksnis] Soon we will all have to recognize a seemingly simple truth: This state was created and strengthened over the centuries not under the sign of imperial ambitions, but to defend people, each of us, and our rights. That is, to defend both economic and social interests. I think we will all be taught a harsh lesson whose essence was wonderfully expressed by the great Russian philosopher Nikolay Berdyayev: A state is created not to establish heaven on earth, but to prevent hell. And when we have allowed just such a hell to arise and stewed in it for a while, we will start to move in the opposite direction. But I am merely afraid of one thing—that we may repeat the experience of Lebanon, where it took 15 years of "hell on earth" before people realized the salvation offered by the unshakable foundations of statehood.

[Yermolin] Do you think we are already ripe for such a catastrophe?

[Alksnis] Look at the Armed Forces, say. Their scattering among the republics is a road to catastrophe. When a politician has armed military formations at his disposal, his political ambitions may grow out immeasurably. There are as many examples of this as you like around the place. And if you also take into account our statesmen's very low level of legal and political culture, it is not difficult to imagine what a bloodbath could be caused on USSR territory.

Today, at long last, I see that it has begun to come home to many people, they are beginning to understand that, yes, nuclear arsenals in the Union could indeed fall into the hands of separatist leaders obsessed with ideas of hegemonism. It is no coincidence that the Americans, too, are already thinking about how to protect themselves in the event of a nuclear brawl inside the Union. Moreover, after our perestroyka the threat of increased instability in the world has by no means lessened. I believe that the confrontation between the two great powers, the USSR and the United States, for all the expense of the arms race, helped to maintain stability in the world. Because all countries actively exploited the confrontation between these two systems, these two military-political blocs. And this balancing act made it possible to maintain global equilibrium, albeit a fragile one. The world was bipolar. And personally, I believe that such a world is more stable than a unipolar one. Today we have just one superpower. This will hardly make it possible to preserve stability on our planet.

[Yermolin] Let's get back to domestic problems. Doesn't it seem to you that the USSR Supreme Soviet has lost its way recently?

[Alksnis] Yes, you rarely meet journalists in the lobby of the Supreme Soviet now. This is the first sign of the alienation from real life of the former Union's supreme legislative organ. Today it is a purely bogus organ. But I believe that it should be preserved, if only as a symbol of a unified state. The very fact of such an organ's existence is important. I am convinced that the time will come when it works once again with full effectiveness. Like many other Union structures. Right now they are in a state of suspended animation. Yes, unfortunately, something has been irreversibly destroyed. But believe me, there is a great deal else that is capable of being revived. This will happen once we have all passed through the hell on earth which I have already mentioned. And we will need the Supreme Soviet when, being unable to hold new elections, we will take the old corps of deputies to Moscow to adopt constitutional decisions and lend legitimacy to the authorities. Of course, it is a pity that it will not be possible to renew the deputies before then. At the recent congress I drew analogies with the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly. But the analogy is not complete. There is a substantial difference. Then the deputies were forced to submit to violence, they were opposed by armed seaman Zheleznyak. Today's deputies abandoned their seats in a far less dangerous situation. They were simply told to shut up, and they left.

[Yermolin] But perhaps today, when the leaders of seven republics are agreeing on the political basis for a Union of Sovereign States in Novo-Ogarevo, there is a hope of reviving our Union within borders close to those of 1985?

[Alksnis] I will be brief: No good will come of this Novo-Ogarevo venture. It is the road to state collapse. For some reason our present leaders have forgotten the results of the all-Union referendum where the overwhelming majority of the Soviet Union's population expressed support precisely for a federation and not a confederation. Moreover, Russia also expressed resolute support for a federation. Thus the will of the people is being ignored. But then, without a strong center, how can there be any talk of a Union?

[Yermolin] You mentioned Russia.... For three months now its president has enjoyed definite room for maneuver—before the August events, Boris Nikolayevich was opposed by powerful forces in the Union leadership personified by the members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. How do you evaluate the results of Yelstin's "100 days?"

[Alksnis] Well, the results are these: The Union center has been completely destroyed, the Union economic mechanism has been thrown into total chaos, interethnic relations have deteriorated sharply, and the disintegration of Russia has become a reality.

[Yermolin] But Yeltsin shows a readiness to take radical steps in the economy. You have to agree that it is brave also to head the government at such a critical time.

[Alksnis] Here I think that Yeltsin has failed to think everything through as a politician. Nevertheless, his popularity among the people is an indisputable fact. It is this popularity which in many respects could keep the overwrought and hungry masses from extreme manifestations of their discontent. There is simply no other such figure in Russia today. But by becoming government head he is taking a very big risk. The collapse of an economic policy which he himself has proclaimed and which he personally has conducted will also spell the collapse of Yeltsin as a politician. Before, he had a chance to save face—he could say it was the government which made a mistake, or the Supreme Soviet (which, incidentally, has often been in dispute with the president lately). But now he is assuming full responsibility in a situation where he will be unable to do anything.

[Yermolin] How can you be so sure?

[Alksnis] It is possible to conduct radical economic reform only in a country where the political situation is more or less stable. But processes which will make it impossible to concentrate on the economy are gathering momentum in and around Russia. Here I am thinking primarily of the trend toward the disintegration of Russian statehood. The market and political chaos are incompatible. Recent events in Checheno-Ingushetia indicate that Yeltsin will soon have to devote a great deal of attention to solving questions linked with republics and autonomous formations inside Russia.

[Yermolin] Incidentally, what do you think of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet's position on the introduction of a state of emergency in Checheno-Ingushetia?

[Alksnis] I think the Supreme Soviet made a mistake in not supporting the president.

[Yermolin] But Viktor Imantovich, any other option would have resulted in a lot of bloodshed.

[Alksnis] Let's move a little further south in space and back to a year ago in time. If the U.S. President and the U.S. Congress had approached the question of Iraq in the same way as Gorbachev and now the Russian parliamentarians approach flouting the law in this country, then Husayn would still be in Kuwait. And the Americans would have wasted tonnes of paper on useless resolutions, warnings, and so on. But no, they acted decisively because U.S. vital interests were affected. In the case of Checheno-Ingushetia, Russia's vital interests are affected. I am a military man, and I know that with good organization all this could be done with minimal loss of life. But today it is too late. Especially as the Army is no longer what it was yesterday. It no longer wants to be in the firing line. What is the point? So that tomorrow they can send you to a detention center in Groznyy, like they sent the OMON [Special Purpose Military Detachment] members to a detention center in Riga? In the last two or three years, when the military have been literally persecuted for fulfilling service regulations and the military oath and for being loyal to the USSR Constitution, respect for orders has been undermined in the Army. Especially if the order comes from a politician. The Army and the Internal Troops have been defamed in every possible way for resisting the collapse of the Union, and now among servicemen there are not very many people willing to defend Russia's integrity. For a long time the democrats urged soldiers and officers not to carry out "criminal orders" and to question the commanders' will. So this is what has happened today—some soldiers or officers decided: The president's decree on introducing a state of emergency in Checheno-Ingushetia is unconstitutional, so I am not going to lift a finger. What they were fighting for is the very thing they have run up against. However, I want to stress that it is not the Army's business to participate in this kind of operation, and it is not even the business of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. There should be a detachment of professionals here. Then actions would not be massive operations which disturb everybody, but targeted operations making it possible to remove the tumor, and that is all. The Union has experience of such operations.

[Yermolin] What do you think about creating a Russian Army?

[Alksnis] If such an army emerges in Russia, it will be the end for both Russia and the Union. Today the former USSR is personified by virtually the Army alone. Any attempt by Russia to take the Armed Forces under its jurisdiction will lead only to greater instability in society and to a deterioration of relations between the republics and Russia.

[Yermolin] Nevertheless, as far as I understand it, you still hope once again to feel you are a citizen of a great power stretching from the Baltic to the Pacific Ocean?

[Alksnis] Absolutely right. Remember what Bereshchagin said in "The White Sun of the Desert:" "I grieve for this great power." Today I cannot even say this phrase—there is no great power. The reality is that I can say: "I grieve for the single economic area." You will agree, that is a bitter joke. But I am sure that I am not the only one to grieve for this "area" which occupies one-sixth of the planet's land area. Hundreds of thousands of people think like that today, and tomorrow there will be millions. And believe me: Yes, we are badly on the retreat today, we have given up much of our beloved land, but our "battle of Moscow" is yet to come.

[Yermolin] Do you remain a firm supporter of the "socialist choice?"

[Alksnis] Was I ever a supporter of that? You are mistaken. But it is a very common mistake. People try to depict me as an orthodox Communist, although I am not interested in any "isms" and I consider myself a statesman. That is all. Recently an American journalist said to me: "I analyzed all 52 of your speeches at the congress and sessions and I did not find a single mention of socialism or communism in them. Can you explain why you are considered an orthodox communist?" All I can say is that clearly this is due to the habit of oversimplifying everything and dividing people into "Reds" and "Whites."

[Yermolin] Viktor Imantovich, aren't you tired of the struggle, especially as there is still no sign up ahead of the desired outcome?

[Alksnis] You know, when you observe all this, and when you see that the decay around you is constantly increasing, you do indeed sometimes feel like giving it all up and doing anything at all, so long as it is as far away from politics as possible. But you know, I am backed by hundreds of thousands of people who trust me. This state is infinitely precious to them, just as it is to me. So the struggle must continue.

TASS Carries PRAVDA Review for 2 Dec

LD0212071791 Moscow TASS in English 0706 GMT 2 Dec 91

["PRAVDA Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow December 2 TASS—The political and economic situation in the country is the focus of today's issue of the PRAVDA newspaper. Under the heading "Reality and Forecasts" Anatoliy Salutskiy discusses a hypothetical situation in which the need for a coalition government will arise due to the loss of control by one or another leader at the Union or Russian level.

"If Yeltsin is forced to step down under the pressure of unresolved problems," the journalist muses, "it will spell an end to the short-lived era of Bonapartism: the country has no one to single-handedly lead the country. In order to avert the utmost danger of anarchy, it is now time to begin thinking—legally and openly, and not in the out-of-town residences—about the establishment of a coalition at power, capable, if the need arises, of taking over the flagging power".

Salutskiy stresses that "this should be a coalition not of parties, as in the parliament—for such leadership will finally drown the country in verbiage. The thing in question is a coalition of leaders, personalities, in whom the representative bodies of authority will temporarily vest the running of the country".

Under the headline "Economy Barometer", PRAVDA analyst Gennadiy Yastrebtsov says that in order to take the battered state machine out of its protracted nosedive, political stability is needed most of all." With this given, Yastrebtsov says, "the almost impossible can be accomplished: the ruble can be stabilised, budget discipline can be enforced, trade and traditional economic links can be restored and the people's free enterprise can be unfettered".

PRAVDA covers at length last Sunday's referendum on the Ukraine's independence and presidential elections. PRAVDA correspondent M. Odinets reports from Kiev that "voting was well organised everywhere and voter turnout was impressive in most places".

The newspaper quotes Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev as saying in a Saturday telephone conversation with President George Bush of the United States that "the decision of the Ukrainian citizens on the republic's independence will not be seen in Moscow as an act of rupture with the Union".

The newspaper also quotes the present head of the Ukrainian parliament, one of the contenders of presidency, Leonid Kravchuk as saying he "expects a positive reaction to the referendum in the West".

PRAVDA reports that Russia's Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy intends, after his recent tour of a number of Siberian cities, to meet Russian President Boris Yeltsin and "set out my viewpoint on the proposed freeing of prices and other problems in the life of Russia".

The report notes that "if the Russian president fails to support his proposals, Rutskoy will have to resign".

The present and future of the Russian-speaking inhabitants of Lithuania is in the focus of the item entitled "The Russian House in Lithuania".

Prominent Soviet military leader Marshal Georgiy Zhukov would have been 95 these days. PRAVDA carries an article devoted to Zhukov's life, military career as one of the most talented Soviet military leaders in World War II and his contribution to the victory over Nazism.

"The West Will Do Business With the Centre," is the headline of an interview chairman of the interstate committee for running the Soviet economy Ivan Silayev gave to PRAVDA in Paris, summing up the results of his visits to Paris and Brussels. Silayev stressed that the Western leaders are interested in "dealing with the Union as a single whole and not with republics scattered across separate economic zones. The same applies to the centre's control over the Soviet nuclear arsenal".

TASS Carries Press Review for 30 Nov

LD3011083191 Moscow TASS in English 0711 GMT 30 Nov 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS Headline]

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—Political and economic future of the country remains the main problem discussed in Soviet newspapers. RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA carries an interview with the chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee Chairman Ivan Silayev [as received] who says it is impossible to count on overcoming the present poverty in the Soviet Union without coordinated actions of the former Union republics.

PRAVDA, commenting on the galloping worsening of the economic situation in the country points out that the present Soviet Government has no more than three-four months to remain in power. The bitter lesson of previous reforms has not yielded any result, and the economic situation in the country is much more unfavourable than before, PRAVDA writes.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA publishes a series of articles under the common title "The End of the Empire," dedicated to the forthcoming referendum on independence of the Ukraine scheduled for December 1, to presidential elections in Kazakhstan, to elections of local authorities in the Moldavian Dnester region, populated mostly by the Russians, and in the Gagauz region, which also opposes the central Moldavian government. According to the newspaper, all these events will accelerate the breakdown of the USSR.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries an interview with Latvian Minister of Defence Talavs Yundzis who supports Latvian integration into the European Community. Yundsis says Latvian Armed Forces will be built on the principle of sufficient defence and will not require more than three to five per cent of the Latvian budget.

On the eve of prominent Soviet military commander Marshal Georgiy Zhukov's 95th birthday, writer David Ortenberg publishes his recollections about Zhukov in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA.

Reminiscences about Zhukov may also be found in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

Vyacheslav Nikonov, aide to the Interstate Security Service Chief Vadim Bakatin, expresses his views on the future of the agency in an interview with NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA.

Chechen leader Jokhar Dudayev in an interview with NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent criticises the Russian Parliament for its stand on the Chechen issue and said the Chechen Republic "will take its own road." In Dudayev's opinion, the Chechens have been under severe (Russian) burden for 300 years.

Andrey Kozyrev, Russian foreign minister, in an interview with TRUD correspondent in Washington, summarising the results of his visit to the United States says "the credit of political trust to Russia is rather high" in America.

In an article headed "How We Killed the Romanovs" KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA publishes evidence by witnesses and participants in the assassination of the Russian tsar family in Yekaterinburg on July 18, 1918.

PRAVDA political analyst Vsevolod Ovchinnikov comments on the main developments in the U.S. Asian policy in the post-cold war period. Ovchinnikov writes in PRAVDA that partial corrections are more typical of this policy rather than radical change.

Orthodox Church Hopes To Give Honecker Refuge

OW0112061391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1440 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] If the Soviet leadership decides to deport the former East German leader Erich Honecker, the Truly Orthodo (catacomb) Church will give him refuge in one of its secret monasteries. Archbishop Lazar of Moscov and Kashira will inform the USSR President Gorbachev and Russia's President Yeltsin of this in the next few days.

The archbishop doesn't ignore Erich Honecker's sins. Nevertheless he believes that "his guilt does not surpass the guilt of those who are to blame for the almost naked genocide against the Russian people who are being evicted from the so-called independent states of the former USSR". According to the archbishop's secretariat, Erich Honecker's religion makes no difference in the giving of shelter to him.

Economics

Kremlin Meeting Devoted to Budget Crisis

LD3011133591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1252 GMT 30 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow, 30 Nov (TASS)—A meeting of Union and Russian leaders, currently in progress in the Kremlin, is devoted to the search for a way out of the finance and budget crisis. Taking part are USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin, USSR State Bank Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko, Gennadiy Burbulis and Yegor Gaydar, deputy chairmen of the Russian Government.

At the center of the discussion is the fate of the emergency Union budget for the last three months of the year. As is known, on 28 November the Soviet of the Republics of the USSR Supreme Soviet gave its consent to granting the State Banks of the USSR credit to the sum of 90.5 billion rubles to cover the planned deficit. The Russian authorities have called on their deputies not to agree immediately to the approval of the issue of 90 billion rubles. They consider that it is essential to analyze the planned expenditure more thoroughly and to reduce it where possible.

From 1 December, the Union Ministry of Finance is being transferred to Russia's jurisdiction. This means that Russia will have to bear all the responsibility for the expenditure under the budget. The situation, however, is complicated by the fact that, as Viktor Gerashchenko stated yesterday, the USSR State Bank has only 3-4 billion rubles remaining, which could be expended in one or two days. Thus, millions of employees in budgetary organizations risk being left without pay.

Answering journalists' questions at the end of the meeting, RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin reported that its participants searched for a way out of the budget crisis for a long time, and in the end a compromise variant was found. This is the "so-called consolidated budget of Russia with the Union" Boris Yeltsin said. He noted that this is "a fairly tough budget, tough obligations for all the republics." Russia will make certain compromises if the republics give guarantees for all-Union credit, the RSFSR president stated. In his words, the compromise variant of the consolidated budget was approved by both the USSR president and representatives of the USSR State Bank and Ministry of Finances. Its details, however, are still being worked out. Answering a TASS correspondent's question, Boris Yeltsin said that in December "in any event, Soviet people will receive their salaries, and even more so under the consolidated budget." "Russia guarantees this," he stressed. "We said straight away," Boris Yeltsin said, "that even if there are any complications with the Union budget then Russia will take upon itself in full the allowances for soldiers, and provision for science, culture, and budget organizations."

Agreement on Budget Implementation

OW0112005691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1640 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin have agreed that in the interests of radical economic reform and in order to alleviate inflation it's necessary to take steps aimed at reducing budget deficit and extensive financial disproportions. The USSR and Russian Presidents came to this conclusion during their working meeting today when they considered the state of affairs in the USSR budget for the 4th quarter of this year.

The two presidents agreed to stimulate effective work aimed at coordinating the budgetary policies of the USSR and Russia and implement the USSR's and Russia's budgets in the 4th quarter on a consolidated basis.

They planned substantial cuts in spending under the USSR budget and reached an agreement on the major directions of economizing.

If these conditions are met, Russia will be willing to shoulder responsibility for guaranteeing USSR State Bank credits granted to cover the coordinated minimal expenditure in the 4th quarter of 1991.

The amount of credits granted by the State Bank will be taken into account when dividing the internal debt between sovereign states.

Restrictions on Issuing Foreign Currency Noted

LD2911215991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Nov 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Excerpt] Today, for the second day in a row, the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity [Vneshekonombank] is not issuing foreign currency for official purposes to organizations financed from the state budget, and not selling it to private individuals who do not hold foreign currency accounts. Officials say these restrictions are to remain in force only until 2 December, but those due to set off on business or other kinds of trips, as you will understand, are not so sure about this.

[Correspondent Istomin] This is the second day that foreign currency exchange points in Moscow for Soviet citizens traveling abroad have not been working. Rumors are circulating that the country's foreign currency reserves have run out. That is not the case, however. The management of the bank has assured us that this is merely a temporary measure. A temporary halt has been called to all operations involving issuing of foreign currency to organizations financed from the state budget. The fact is that, starting not long ago, the bank's main task has been to service the country's foreign debt. There is due to be a meeting of the Interstate Economic Committee on Monday, which may decide whether all efforts should be concentrated on paying the foreign debt or whether foreign currency should continue to be spent. In the meantime, however, the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity is not changing foreign currency. [passage omitted]

State Bank Halts Budgetary Expenditure Financing

LD2911161891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1445 GMT 29 Nov 91

[From the "Panorama" program]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] I invite you to turn to a topic which is more than just topical now, since it concerns your money and mine. I am talking, of course, about the budget for the fourth quarter, that very emergency budget which the Supreme Soviet might have adopted, or might not. [passage omitted]

Yesterday, Viktor Gerashchenko, chairman of the board of the State Bank, said that the bank possesses the 3 billion rubles already allowed by the Supreme Soviet, and that those 3 billion might last only three days. However, today Valeriy Kiosa, who joins us at the studio now, says that these 3 billion are already gone. Is that right?

[Kiosa] Yes, that is the case, most likely. [passage omitted]

The thing is, today, literally 20 minutes ago, we carried a report that the border troops in Gorno-Badakhshan Oblast [autonomous Oblast in Tajikistan] had received the news that their financing was being stopped. I double-checked that report and spoke on the telephone to Valerian Kulikov, first deputy chairman of the board of the country's State Bank, who said that because the Supreme Soviet has not yet adopted a decision on the emergency budget for the fourth quarter—which ends in one month, incidentally—the country's State Bank is compelled to stop financing all budgetary expenditures. This means that financing all enterprises and all citizens who are financed out of the central budget is being stopped.

[Announcer] Including border troops, the Army in general, teachers, and all manner of other services.

[Kiosa] That is right—until some kind of decision is adopted by the Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted]

Allocation of Finance Ministry Credits Postponed

LD2911202391 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1700 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] The upper house of the Soviet parliament, the Council of the Republics, has postponed a final decision on allocating credits to the country's Finance Ministry. The house had to go back on its yesterday's approval of credits after sole criticism by the coordinator of the Russian faction of deputies, Aleksandr Kotenkov. Aleksandr Kotenkov said such decisions could not be taken without the consent of the Russian parliament since Russia was bearing the main burden of financing the central budget.

New Exchange for Foreign Currency Dealings

LD2911220591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Nov 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Now a report of more interest to business people. Our colleagues on the "Exchange News" program tell us that the management of the USSR State Bank Exchange has decided that it should be transformed, along with the Moscow Banking Union and the Association of Banks of Russia, into the Moscow Inter-Bank Foreign Currency Exchange joint-stock company. It is this exchange which will in the future service the country's foreign currency market.

We have more details. Sales and purchases of foreign currency from the public are to be conducted through franchised banks which will set their own exchange rates. Given that the tourist rate on personal exchanges is being abolished from 1 December, experts expect that the present black market rate is likely to be taken as the base for future foreign currency operations—meaning between 60 and 80 rubles to one U.S. dollar.

Silayev Interviewed on Use of Western Credits

LD3011230491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2158 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Interview with Interstate Economic Committee Chairman Ivan Silayev by "Television News Service" reporters in Moscow on 30 November]

[Text] Ivan Silayev's visit to Paris has ended. During his brief trip to France he met President Mitterrand, Prime Minister Cresson, and French businessmen. The prospects for bilateral cooperation were discussed, mainly in the financial and economic spheres. Agreement was reached on the granting of credits to our country by the European Community. This money will be spent on purchasing agricultural produce, which will start entering our country by the end of December or the beginning of January.

Ivan Silayev returned to Moscow a few hours ago.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Ivan Stepanovich, this is "Television News Service." These credits that our country is evidently to receive are meant for the purchase of foodstuffs. At the same time, according to the estimations of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, around half of the potato harvest is lost on our fields, around one-third of milk is spoiling, and so on. This money is to go on the purchase of foodstuffs. Would it not be better to spend it on technology or machinery? How will we be able to pay back these credits?

[Silayev] Of course it would be better if we had the opportunity to purchase equipment, to purchase technology, and to organize all of this at home. This would give a good return in the near future. But the situation is too serious at the moment. Despite this, it is not simply a matter of consuming it, then forgetting, and then thinking again about how to borrow money. Together with the World Bank, our experts are working on a program for the reform of agriculture beginning next year. The task has been set that we should have a program that agreed with the republics by March. This program will be supported by the World Bank through technical aid and other resources. It is very important for us to use this very serious injection of foodstuffs in order to embark upon a genuine reform of our agriculture, including processing, storage, and transportation. We do have fundamental accords of this nature. [end recording]

Urges Seeking Agreement

LD3011164291 Moscow TASS in English 1126 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—"It is impossible to overcome the present poverty in the Soviet Union without coordinated actions of the former Union republics", chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee Ivan Silayev said in an interview with RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA (WORKERS' TRIBUNE) today.

The initialing of a joint treaty will herald that unity has been reached, and we hope this will be done before December 10, Silayev said. The leaders of the former Soviet republics could have reached accord long ago had it not been for pressure exercised on them. Thus, the Ukrainian delegation agreed with the principle of shared responsibility but changed its stand in the second round of negotiations. Such things hamper the talks, Silayev said.

Silayev said priority should be given to the newly emerging businesses and farms, as well as to large-scale reproduction of commodities. Softer taxation ought to be introduced and no social programmes should be imposed on businesses. It is better to tighten up our belts for the time being, Silayev said.

State Bank Chairman Comments on Budget Deficit

LD2911214191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Studio interview with Viktor Gerashchenko, chairman of the USSR State Bank, by Pavel Kasparov; from the "TV Inform" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] Today the USSR Supreme Soviet returned to the state of our Union finances. We have already reported that the Soviet of the Republics, the parliament's upper chamber, has approved the proposal on an additional money issue of 90 billion rubles. The Soviet of the Union was not able to make a decision on this issue because there was no quorum. Today the deputies' arguments flared up again—to give or not to give the USSR State Bank the right to issue money. It seems, however, that an unfortunate time was chosen for the parliamentary discussions. No more than 3 billion rubles remain in the state's coffers, sufficient for one or two days' expenditure. Today we have invited Viktor Gerashchenko, the chairman of the USSR State Bank, to the studio.

Good evening, Viktor Vladimirovich. The first question: How much money actually remains in the State Bank? Is it really 3 billion, more or less?

[Geraschenko] You know that the State Bank does not keep, and the banking system cannot keep, a balance for every day. We must proceed from the fact that here on 16 November there were around 4.5 billion. Expenditure over two weeks is approximately 8-10 billion. Taking into account that there is some revenue which as before enters the state budget, although with major defaults, when I spoke in parliament yesterday I said that in essence at the beginning of the day there is around 3 billion for the remaining days. When in the evening I came to the State Bank and met with specialists, judging by the total of payments which were made over the day we came to the conclusion that the whole limit of treasury money decided by the budget or decided by presidential decree, which the parliament has for such a long time not wished to examine seriously and approve, no longer remained. Because of this we were forced to halt such payments from this morning.

[Kasparov] Viktor Vladimirovich, all right. But then what is the cause of the fierce discussions in parliament about the money issue? The parliament must understand that if it does not happen then many budget organizations will actually remain without pay.

[Gerashchenko] You know, in my opinion there is a clear attempt not to investigate the issue in depth, because on the whole you need to think about the fact that the tax on profit of enterprises in 1991 was set incorrectly. This was after fierce debates in our parliament when everyone spoke on behalf of his enterprise, on behalf of his district, not thinking about the results for the country as a whole. The debates on various types of social program were no less fierce. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov's government showed that the country cannot with the best will in the world undertake such expenditure, for which neither the financial nor the material means were sufficient. As a result of this a very strained budget was set, all attempts in one way or another to adjust it stumbled against a certain type of opposition, a war of budgets, politically popular slogans. Because of this we have come to such a sad state of affairs. Here the parliament, in my view, needs to dot the i's, and say what the problems are and who is responsible for this. In this case, although the upper chamber has adopted a completely correct and responsible decision, in my view, for some reason some deputies, on the whole representing the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic in the Soviet of the Union, adopted the position of engaging in certain political tricks to entangle other decisions. In my view because of this the issue was specially wrecked; there was no quorum for its discussion, although the session was fixed for 1600 and not 1750. There was simply a torpedoing of this important decision.

[Kasparov] The final question, Viktor Vladimirovich. When do you think the i's will be dotted?

[Gerashchenko] Well, in the first place I understand that tomorrow the top leadership of the country and the republics want to discuss this issue among themselves. I hope that the Soviet of the Union nevertheless understands its responsibility and will meet, not on Tuesday, but early on Monday morning.

Questions About Gold, Platinum Exports Raised

PM2911163791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by E. Guseynov followed by editorial commentary: "Gold and Platinum Exports: Situation Clarified, But Questions Remain"]

[Text] In two issues (Nos 272 and 274) IZVESTIYA has reported on the export in recent months of a considerable quantity of gold, platinum, and metals of the platinum group—palladium and rhodium—through Sheremetyevo-2 Airport customs. Following these items, the editorial office received a call from the "Platina" firm, and its director, P. Chernov, expressed a willingness to provide explanations concerning some of the facts cited in the reports.

The explanations related to the deliveries of platinum-group metals. They were shipped in accordance with contracts concluded by the "Platina" foreign trade firm. The firm is part of the "Almazyuvelireksport" state foreign trade association.

First, a bit of information on the system of Soviet trade in platinum-group metals and the world market in these metals. The platinum group includes six metals: platinum, palladium, rhodium, iridium, ruthenium, and osmium. In our country they are all regarded as precious metals. In most foreign countries only platinum is thus described.

The "Platina" firm was set up in 1970, almost at the same time as the "Almazyuvelireksport" association was created. It sells abroad just three metals and articles made from them—platinum, palladium, and ruthenium. And also silver, in insignificant quantities. Gold and silver are mainly traded by the Foreign Economic Bank.

Metals of the platinum group are sold in accordance with government quotas, with a schedule laid down by the Council of Ministers and, subsequently, the Cabinet of Ministers for a particular year. And also in accordance with government ordinances or resolutions issued during the year. That is all there is to it.

P. Chernov said that of the cargoes mentioned in IZVESTIYA No 272 the "Platina" firm acknowledged two consignments as its own: a total of 15 packages sent on flight SU-229. One of them did not belong to the Soviet Union at all, in fact: It was a product that had been processed from foreign raw material at Soviet factories and was now being returned to its owner. The second cargo was gold being exported to Zurich. In accordance with government decisions made some months ago, it was sold at existing world prices.

As for the ruthenium and palladium dispatched 16 November to Amsterdam on behalf of the "Platina" firm, it was a planned delivery in accordance with a contract concluded last December.

Now a few more words about the nature of the trade in platinum-group metals in the world and in the USSR. The point is that, except for platinum, none of these heavy, dull, rare metals is used in jewelry or as valuables. They are used in only one sphere—high-technology production. It is for this purpose that they are bought and sold on the the world market.

Unfortunately, because of its technical backwardness Soviet industry is unable to take up all the platinum-group metals produced in the USSR. There is no point in accumulating them in state warehouses—they are not used anywhere in the world as valuables, like gold and platinum, as I said before. Therefore, not to export them is to withdraw a product from circulation.

Editorial Comment: We do not believe that this has exhausted the subject and we are still waiting for answers from the USSR Finance Ministry, USSR Foreign Economic Bank, and Interrepublic Security Service to the questions posed in Nos 272 and 274.

Experienced specialists have assured the editorial office that we might be in for a long wait, because the quantities of precious metals mentioned in our items are allegedly too small. If that is so, then in order to prompt a more vigorous reaction from the relevant departments to the questions we have raised we hereby announce that the editorial office has reliable data on operations that have taken place this year to export from the country, for example, 5,187 kilograms of gold to London, 17,590 kilograms of gold to Zurich, and 2,650 kilograms of "currency cargoes" also to Zurich. Moreover, last week precious metals continued to escape, although not as intensively, to London, Bangkok, Tokyo, Frankfurt, and so on.

We hope that the lack of answers means that they are busy checking the state of affairs, not that they want to put a block on the question of exports of our dwindling stock of gold and platinum, which is something that worries everyone.

Shatalin Interviewed on Economic Fund Creation

LD0112121191

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 2037 GMT on the "Television News Service" program on 29 November broadcast an interview with academician Stanislav Shatalin. The caption on the interview reads: "Interview with S.S. Shatalin, 'reform fund' president."

An unidentified narrator said: "Today a conference of the founders of the fund of economic and social reforms has been held in Moscow. Academician Stanislav Shatalin has been elected its president."

An unidentified correspondent asked Shatalin: "Stanislav Sergeyevich, what are the basic tasks and objectives of your fund?"

Shatalin answered: "Our fund is designed to facilitate switching our economy onto new economic rails. You know, indeed, that our economy is switching very painfully and slowly, unfortunately, to a market economy system. But our task, the task of our fund, which is a non-governmental, non-commercial organization, but exists on the contributions of sponsors as well as those market, commercial structures which are attached to our reform—we are using these funds absolutely gratis to finance projects in the sphere of the economy, sociology, the hard currency credits system and the monetary system, and the problem of pricing policy, the problem of social protection, and the budget problem. We want forces to gather here which are not guided by some kind of business circles' considerations, besides considerations of how to best and most effectively develop the economy of Russia and all the sovereign states which signed the [treaty on] the community, who will join our new state."

The interviewer asked why no success is visible in the economy, now that the party apparatus can no longer be blamed for this. Shatalin replied that the party has only been formally closed down, but thought patterns remain. Genes do not change overnight. He calls for unity to carry through radical reform. So far, old economic structures have been pulled down and new ones have not been built or have been built in a dilettante fashion. Shatalin sees it as his task to create an intellectual economic milieu. There are many sensible economists and businessmen who have appeared. Shatalin said: "Academician Abalkin, who was a deputy prime minister; Academician Sitaryan, who was a deputy prime minister; Stanislav (?Radikalitov), who has recently been the head, the chairman, of the committee on state property; Gennadiy Melikyan; (?Panskov), who used to be involved in financial problems; and (?Khandruyev), a very sensible, strong economist; have joined my board. That is, basically a team has been gathered which knows the old practice. This is also important, do you see?" Shatalin repeated the need for unity and the restraint of ambition. Opposition must be civilized. People must be participants, and not slaves, of the system, he said.

1,000 Ruble Bank Notes Put Into Circulation

LD2911100291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1522 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 27 Nov (TASS)—New banknotes with a value of 1,000 rubles will soon make their appearance in the Soviet Union. The USSR State Bank is starting to put into circulation banknotes of the 1991 design with a value of 1,000 rubles, and also modifications of banknotes of the 1991 design with a value of 10, 50, and 100 rubles. This is stated in an announcement by the country's Gosbank distributed here today.

Before 1991 in the Soviet Union, there were banknotes and treasury notes in circulation with a value of up to 100 rubles. In the autumn of this year, the Union Gosbank for the first time started issuing banknotes with a value of 200 and 500 rubles.

The USSR State Bank also announced that from 29 November of this year it was putting into circulation banknotes with a value of three rubles of the 1991 design. They were produced incorporating the main designs of the USSR state treasury note of the 1961 version with a value of three rubles with some changes in color and text.

At the same time, for purposes of improving the security of the banknotes which are already being printed, the 10, 50, and 100 ruble banknotes have been modified. The words denoting their value in the languages of the USSR peoples have been removed from the text on the banknotes.

The USSR State Bank has confirmed that USSR treasury notes and State Bank notes of the 1961 type and the USSR State Bank notes of the 1991 type issued earlier remain in circulation.

Military

Defense Ministers Council To Be Formed

LD2911135691 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1300 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Excerpt] A consultative body, the Defense Ministers Council of Sovereign Republics, is being formed at the decision of the country's State Council.

This has been announced by the chief of the General Staff, General Vladimir Lobov. Its main purpose is conducting a single military policy and taking joint decisions on defense matters. [passage omitted]

Official Interviewed on Future Defense Ministry

LD2911222791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Nov 91

["TV Inform" report by correspondent G. Sedov on USSR Defense Ministry briefing held in Moscow on 29

November, including recorded interview with Lieutenant General Manilov, head of the USSR Defense Ministry Information Directorate, following briefing] txt [Text] Briefings and news conferences are held ever more frequently in the country's Defense Ministry, and more and more they discuss the problems of the Army's life.

[Sedov] Starting off today's briefing, Lieutenant General Manilov, head of the Information Directorate, mentioned five main themes.

The military budget for 1992. For the first time it is not coming down from above but is being created on the basis of discussions in the sovereign republics. There is a noticeable tendency toward reducing it by between three and five percent. In 1992 there will be half as much military production in comparison with 1989.

The draft: Until today only 22.2 percent of the total plan has been fulfilled. However, deserters from the Army have changed their minds; almost all who left their combat units have returned. With gunners it is similiar—half of them. Once again we were asked to say that if deserters return before 4 December no criminal proceedings will begin against them.

Problems connected to the formation of a northwestern group of troops instead of the Baltic districts. What are the main provisions?

[Manilov] The main provision of this problem is that a principally new status for the group based on the territory of independent sovereign states has been established by the president. Now it is the Northwestern Group of Forces.

[Sedov] How long will this group exist?

[Manilov] This depends on the character of the interstate agreement and, on a reciprocal basis, what time scale is determined. However, the reality is that evidently it is unlikely that a large-scale withdrawal of troops from the territory of the Baltic independent states could be implemented before the end of 1994.

[Sedov] What about those soldiers who go into the reserve or are released and remain on the territory of these Baltic states?

[Manilov] All these people without exception will receive a pension from the Defense Ministry.

General Staff Chief Says USSR in 'Civil War'

LD3011134291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1113 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 30 Nov (TASS)—"The USSR is entering a phase of active civil war. Today is the last chance to stop before going over the edge of the abyss," believes Major General Leonid Kozhendayev, chief of one of the sections of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff. "As a result of the battle between the parties and ethnic movements, the state has been destroyed," he stated in an interview published today in the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper. "Since August, the will of the people as expressed at the all-Union referendum has been ignored—that the Union should continue. In the country, there is chaos and lawlessness, corruption, and banditry. The economy has been destroyed. Nationalist forces are hastily setting up their own guards, and tomorrow they will be going into battle." In the general's view, "the final restraining force—the armed forces—is falling apart."

In Leonid Kozhedayev's words, the officers in his subunits of the General Staff, after discussing the country's military-political situation, have sent their command their proposals on preventing the collapse of the state and the Army. As he reported, in doing this "with the aim of forestalling repressive measures against officers of the section, records of the discussions have been destroyed," and only his signature is on this document. Among the proposals of the General Staff officers is the suggestion that a referendum be held in the territorial formations of the USSR, and after the people express their will, then the state's new boundary can be defined, as can its political structure and economic organization." [no opening quote as received] In saying this, the certainty is expressed that the Army is prepared to guarantee protection for the holding of the referendum against any possible attempts to disrupt it.

"The Army is capable of helping the politicians. The Army itself does not want and will not force the people to do anything they do not want to do," the interview states. "Whether the powers that be want it or not, the Armed Forces are becoming politicized," noted the general. In his words, "the Army is tired of being humiliated." It is in favor of the adoption of "harsh measures" against attacks on servicemen in various regions of the country, such as the recent murder in Tbilisi of Major Berilov.

General Wants End to Lawlessness, Gangsterism

PM0212151591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 91 p 2

[Interview with Major General Leonid Kozhendayev, chief of a USSR Armed Forces General Staff Sector, by A. Khokhlov, under the "Opposition" rubric; place and date not given: "General Staff Officers Against All the Presidents Simultaneously"]

[Text] This is a sensational event, even for these frantic days: After discussing the military-political situation in the country, the officers of one of the sectors [napravleniye] (departments) of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff have protested against the disintegration of the state and the Army.

Major General Leonid Kozhendayev, chief of a sector of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, now talks about this:

[Kozhendayev] The officers of the General Staff know the situation better than most in the country and receive information on it from various forces. We can see that the USSR is entering a phase of active civil war. Today is the last chance to stop on the brink of the abyss.

[Khokhlov] Who is going to say "Stop"? The Army?

[Kozhendayev] The Army can help the politicians. The Army itself does not want to and will not force the people to do anything. We should not be regarded as the successors to the putschists, none of us supported those who took the tanks and armored personnel carriers onto the streets of Moscow in August. But what is happening now after the victory of the democratic forces? As a result of the victory of the parties and the national movements the state has been destroyed. Since August the will of the people as expressed at the All-Union Referendum—that the Union should exist—has been ignored. The country is going through chaos, lawlessness, corruption, and gangsterism. The economy has been wrecked. Nationalist forces are hurriedly creating their own guards, tomorrow they will go into battle. Against whom? Those who do not think as they are told to by the few dozen presidents?

The last deterrent force—the Armed Forces—is collapsing....

[Khokhlov] What should be done, in your view?

[Kozhendayev] Referendums should be held in the territorial formations of the USSR. And after the people have expressed their will the state's new border should be defined along with the political system and the economic organization. There should be an end to the parade of sovereignties on this territory. The Army, we are confident, is ready to ensure that the referendum is protected from all possible attempts to disrupt it by the various types of bandit formations and is ready to equip [obustroit] the new state border.

[Khokhlov] Does it not seem to you that you were somewhat late with these "proposals"? And then again, who is going to stage the referendum?

[Kozhendayev] I am probably not alone in my distrust of the majority of the politicians who are determining our fate today. New leaders are needed. I think that they will be nominated by the people, who have already grown tired of being crushed in the waiting lines for bread and are afraid of the future. Whether the powers that be like it or not, the Armed Forces are being politicized today. The Army is tired of suffering humiliation, it is tired of living in semistarvation a long way from home, it is tired of serving a country that no longer exists.... Is there anyone who still believes that it will be possible in the future to go on killing officers and men with impunity, as is happening now? For example, Major Vladimir Berilov was murdered in Tbilisi right in front of his wife and four-year old son.... American fleets are brought up to the shores of a country where even one U.S. citizen is taken hostage but in our country officers are murdered on our own soil and this is regarded as a normal state of affairs.

[Khokhlov] When Berilov was murdered the Defense Ministry issued a statement....

[Kozhendayev] ...very reminiscent of the several hundred "final warnings" from Mao Zedong to the United States. We think that there has been enough of grinning and bearing these things, measures must be taken. Tough measures.

[Khokhlov] Like sending the tanks out onto the streets?

[Kozhendayev] None of us, absolutely no one in the Armed Forces, is going to fire on the people. But let us define the borders of our state and we will not let anyone be murdered on our territory.

[Khokhlov] To whom have you sent the officers' statement?

[Kozhendayev] We are not mutineers, we are military men. The proposals have been sent to the command and the chief of directorate.

[Khokhlov] Are you not afraid?

[Kozhendayev] I have consulted my family. I am ready for anything. Incidentally, the transcripts of the discussion have been destroyed to prevent repressive measures being used against officers. Only my signature was left on the papers.

Baltic Affairs

Regional Security Meeting Begins in Estonia

OW0112012091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On November 29th at the Lokhusala settlement outside Tallinn a meeting of representatives from northern countries on issues of European security in the Baltic Sea region and the Baltic states was begun. Representatives from the Scandinavian countries, as well as from Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Russia, United States and Austria are present at the meeting. Issues of integrating Estonia into the European security system, demilitarization of the republic and issues concerning conversion will also be discussed.

U.S. Grants Most Favored Nation Trade Status

LD3011142891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] The U.S. Congress has passed a bill granting the Baltics most favored nation trade status. President George Bush is expected to sign the bill in less than a week, and 15 days later the legislation will come into force.

Norwegian Defense Minister Denies Aid Reports

LD3011161991 Moscow TASS in English 2200 GMT 30 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Loskutov]

[Text] Oslo November 29 TASS—Norwegian Defence Minister Johan Jorgen Holst denied reports in the local press that Norway is prepared to give assistance to Baltic states in deciding military matters.

In an official report circulated here the minister pointed out that he had earlier stated the intention to consider inviting Baltic officers to Norway to inform them of the structure of Norwegian Armed Forces and of problems of total defence.

He said that at present there is no need to send Norwegian instructors to the Baltics and to invite officers from Baltic states to Norway for instructions or courses. Norway's assistance to the restoration of Baltic states should be considered in a broad political context.

Holst said he had promised to his Lithuanian counterpart that Norway would consider Lithuania's request for the supply of fabrics and assistance in designing winter uniforms for servicing. The supply of weapons to the Baltics is out of question, the minister said.

Estonia

Draft Constitution Confirms 1940 Borders

OW0112012291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2000 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A "BALTFAX" correspondent was told that the draft of the new constitution prepared by the Estonian Constitutional Assembly maintains that the borders of Estonia are those as were agreed upon in the Tartusky peace treaty with Russia on February 2, 1920 and in other intergovernmental treaties on the border. Estonia has also asserted its right to territories included into the Russian Republic in 1945 which are now parts of the Pskov and Leningradsky regions.

Rein Helme, a member of the Constitutional Assembly told "BALTFAX" that such a formulation does not leave the Estonian delegation much room to manoeuver in negotiations with the Russian Republic and the USSR on the question of borders.

Ruutel, Russian Group Discuss Political Treaty

OW0112011691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2000 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Tallinn on November 29th the head of the Estonian parliament Arnold Ruutel met with a working group of experts from the Russian Supreme Soviet on ratifying the political treaty between Estonia and the Russian Republic. As is already known, the treaty between Russia and Estonia was signed in January 1991. The Estonian parliament has already ratified it, but the Russian parliament has not yet done so.

According to the Estonian parliament's press service, the head of the Russian Supreme Soviet's work group, Aleksandr Granberg stated that the Estonian-Russian political treaty must be ratified "in the very near future."

Ruutel, in his turn, made a proposal concerning the social guarantee for compensation and resettlement of those Russian-speaking citizens leaving Estonia. He confirmed the possibility that Estonia would build housing for emmigrants outside the republic

Savisaar, Godmanis Discuss Economic Reform

LD3011213791 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1500 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] As is known, Edgar Savisaar and Ivars Godmanis, the Estonian and Latvian prime ministers, met yesterday in Parnu and discussed progress with regard to economic reform and the political situation. The Baltic News Service reports that the official news does not reveal the background or reasons for the premiers' surprise meeting last night. In this connection, observers note that in both Estonia and Latvia, government reforms are being dealt with at different levels.

At its closed session yesterday, the Estonian Government discussed plans for a reform of the executive powers, and will continue this discussion tonight. This has been reported by the Baltic News Service. The Latvian Supreme Council, however, endorsed a government reform on 13 November. Instead of the previous 23 ministries, 16 were set up.

Armored Troop Withdrawal Schedule Announced

LD2611153691 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1300 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] The Government of the Republic of Estonia reports that, according to agreements, columns of military armored transport carriers will be withdrawn from the territory of the Republic of Estonia from Tallinn, Kuressaare, and Rakvere at the end of November and the beginning of December. These columns will be made up of 55 combat vehicles. The withdrawal of the military unit will taked place along the Tallinn-Rakvere-Narva route. Local governments have been given instructions to ensure unhindered passage to the military columns.

Government Accepts Resignation of Two Ministers

LD0112010491 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1720 GMT 29 Nov 91

[From the "Politics" feature]

[Text] Estonian Government accepted on November 28 resignation of two ministers holding opposite views on Russian problem.

Endel Lippmaa, minister without portfolio, was actually in charge of Estonia's relations with its neighbors in the east, while Artur Kuznetsov was minister for interethnic relations. The two ministers tendered their resignations several months ago. Kuznetsov did it twice.

In the opinion of Lippmaa, the policy pursued by the Estonian Government is too pro-Russian and detrimental to the interests of the Estonian people. Kuznetsov, however, believes that this policy is too anti-Russian, leading to the heightening of tension in relations between the Estonian-speaking and Russian-speaking communities. On more than one occasion, Kuznetsov openly expressed his negative attitude to plans for putting into effect the 1938 law on citizenship. He insists on the adoption of the so-called zero option—the granting of Estonian citizenship to all permanent residents of Estonia wishing to get it.

Latvia

Economic Agreement Signed With Ukraine

LD0112001691 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1830 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Edgars Zausajevs, minister of external trade of the Republic of Latvia, and Volodymyr Lanovyy, minister of state of the Ukraine, today signed an agreement between the governments of Latvia and the Ukraine on mutual trade and principles of economic cooperation in the next year and in the future. The agreement envisages the development of lasting, all-round cooperation between the enterprises and organizations of both states on the basis of the principle of most-favored-nation status. The Ukraine has undertaken to supply Latvia with coal, mazut, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, nitrogen and potassium mineral fertilizers, cables, salt, sugar, and vegetable oil. In exchange, the traditional export commodities of Latvia are being offered—chipboard, minibuses, electrical implements, and knitted garments.

Citizens Living Abroad Allowed Dual Citizenship

OW2711232791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1950 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Latvia's parliament voted on November 27 to grant Latvians living abroad the right to have dual citizenship. The document says in particular that the people who were citizens of the Latvian Republic prior to its takeover by the USSR in 1940, as well as their descendants, who are now citizens of other countries, may receive Latvian citizenship without having to renounce their present citizenship.

Government Appoints New Deputy Ministers

LD3011173491 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1601 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Text] By a decision of the government, Maris Gailis has been appointed the Latvian deputy minister of foreign affairs on economic questions. Martins Virsis has become the deputy minister of foreign affairs on political questions, and has been released from the duties as the first deputy minister.

Militia Colonel Andris Staris has been appointed the first deputy minister of internal affairs, and Zenons Indrikovs has been released from this post at his own request.

The Information Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will be headed by Juris Kuzins. The special service rank of police colonel has been conferred on him and Andris Staris.

Janis Platais has assumed the duties of first deputy minister of welfare.

Valdis Zeikats has been appointed head of the government apparatus.

Lithuania

Vice Premier Says Another Coup 'Possible'

OW3011204891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1330 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The situation in Lithuania and around it is becoming dangerous, said Zigmas Vaisvila, vice-premier and general director of the Lithuanian State Security Department, speaking on national TV Thursday [28 November]. In his opinion, another coup attempt is possible in Moscow between December 1 and 8. The vice-premier noted that attempts to exert pressure on Lithuania are being made. "The Union delays talks on the withdraval of troops from Lithuania, as well as the signing of an economic agreement with Vilnius," he argued.

In his words, these facts "are in line" with the aggravation of the political situation in the republic caused by "a witch hunt" against some Lithuanian deputies accused of being involved in the KGB activities.

Meanwhile, Lithuanian MPs have received questionnaires asking if they collaborated with the KGB, and if yes, what was their mission, salary or bonus, etc. By decision of the parliament, the results of questioning will be available for all MPs.

Charge Says Coup 'Unlikely'

OW0112050991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1700 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Egidius Bickauskas, Lithuanian temporary charge d'affairs in Moscow, believes another coup attempt in the Soviet Union in early December is unlikely.

Speaking on Lithuanian TV November 29th, he said "currently, there are no structures that could prepare a coup." However, he suggests clashes or revolt may take place in January, February or March and "Zhirinovskiy's supporters" can take advantage of them.

On Thursday Lithuanian Vice-Premier Zigmas Vaisvila expressed fear of a possible coup attempt in the first decade of December [as received].

Soviet Ministry Sends Note on Army Exercises

LD2811211791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Text] Egidijus Bickauskas, acting charge d'affaires of the Republic of Lithuania in the Soviet Union, has sent to the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry a note from the Soviet Union's Ministry of Foreign Affairs which, on the basis of Articles 65 and 71 of the Vienna negotiations document of 1990, announces that the Soviet Union's Armed Forces do not plan any activity in 1992 that should be announced in advance. The note also states that there are no plans to organize any military exercises in 1993 with the participation of more than 40,000 men.

Commenting on the note, Audrius Azubalis, the Supreme Council's press representative, stated that the Soviet Union's Ministry of Foreign Affairs should send this information to the states with which the Soviet Union signed such document. It is important to Lithuania not [words indistinct] but that an agreement is signed on the withdrawal of the Soviet Army.

Supreme Council Official Responds

OW2811190191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1808 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a news briefing in Vilnius November 28th Audrius Azubalis, press secretary of the Lithuanian parliament, commented on a note the USSR Foreign Ministry sent to the Lithuanian side on November 25th. The note says that, under the Vienna agreement, until 1993 Soviet troops will not hold major military exercises on the territory of the Baltics.

Mr. Azubalis pointed out that the note said nothing about the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Lithuania. He stressed that the Lithuanian side would accept only one document—about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Lithuania.

'Concrete Steps' on Troop Withdrawal Urged

LD2911221491 Moscow TASS in English 2125 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Serafim Bykhun]

[Text] Vilnius November 29 TASS— "If the Soviet Union fails to take concrete steps to withdraw its troops from Lithuanian territory, the republic's leadership will have to act more decisively politically and diplomatically, as well as appeal to influential international organizations," the Lithuanian parliament's press attache Audrius Azubalis said.

He explained that his statement was prompted by the lack of practical response on the part of the Soviet Union to the statement of the Baltic Council which met in Vilnius on October 5.

The statement said among other things: "Before November 1, 1991 [date as received], the Soviet Union must liquidate army units, garrisons and bases of all arms in the capitals of the Baltic republics, as well as decide without delay on the withdrawal of Soviet Army troops from the territories of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia".

Law Adopted on Agreements With Soviet Army

LD3011114691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] The Lithuanian Supreme Council has adopted a law on the Soviet Army's illegal possession of property and illegal agreements on the territory of Lithuania that prohibit the Soviet Army units from making any trade deals concerning the land, forests, buildings, and equipment belonging to the Republic of Lithuania. Any agreements of this kind will be considered invalid.

Landsbergis: Ukraine Vote 'Extremely Important'

OW0212121391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1130 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of Lithuania, described the presidential election held in Ukraine yesterday as "extremely important." Speaking on Lithuanian television yesterday he said the citizens of Ukraine had been voting for "real independence which they do not want to sacrifice for the sake of a union vith a vague and dubious central authority."

Commenting on the future of the former USSR Mr Landsbergis said he thought "there are bound to be more attempts to create some kind of political community." He believed "the new group of states still may be called a union, but the old Union kept together by force does not exist any more." According to Mr Landsbergis, Russia will definitely take the Soviet Union's place in the United Nations, which is only a "matter of time."

Trade Agreement With Ukraine Signed in Vilnius

LD0112144491 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] Two agreements on establishing the main principles of trade and economic cooperation between the republics for the next year and for the future were concluded in Vilnius yesterday between the governments of the Ukraine and Latvia.

Volodymyr Lanovyy, state minister for issues of property and enterprise, signed it on behalf of the government of the Ukraine.

It is envisaged that the system of the most favorable conditions for cooperation and development of entrepreneurial activity of businessmen will be created by both countries.

Economic Agreement Signed

LD0112001891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] The Ukraine will supply Lithuania with half the metal required by the republic's industry. This is envisaged in a bilateral economic agreement signed today in Vilnius. At agreed prices, Lithuania will purchase from the Ukraine coal, various types of machinery, fuel oil, and grain, and will sell consumer goods and products of the machine-building industry.

Pro-Soviet Party Leader Under Arrest in Vilnius

OW0112024991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1715 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Lithuanian Deputy General Prosecutor Gedgaudas Norkunas told a "BALTFAX" correspondent that Valeriy Ivanov, leader of the pro-Soviet organization "Unity," which was active in Lithuania, is presently being held under arrest. On November 29th he will be placed in Lukishkes prison in Vilnius.

Ivanov was arrested in Vilnius on Tuesday, suspected of governmental crimes. According to evidence from legal authorities, Ivanov led the bellicose crowd on January 8, 1991 in an attempt to burst into the Lithuanian parliament building. This incident preceded the January tragedy in Vilnius in which 13 people died.

Within ten days of his arrest, according to the law, Ivanov and his defense will be formally charged with the above accusation.

The deputy general prosecutor also stated that legal organs will shortly petition the Supreme Council to reach an agreement with Russian authorities on releasing Lithuanian state criminals, whose arrests have already been sanctioned by the prosecutor's office.

Landsbergis Receives Russian Legislative Group

OW0112161691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1400 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with Lithuanian radio Aleksander Granberg, head of the Russian delegation and chairman of the commission on regional policy and inter-republic relations, said that the Russian parliament would ratify the treaty between Russia Lithuania in December. He said that during their meeting the Russian parliamentary delegation and Vytautas Landsbergis managed to settle all the problems. "I think that was the last coordination, now the final word rests with the Russian parliament," Mr. Granberg noted.

Deputy Chairman of the Lithuanian parliament Ceslovas Stankevicius has also expressed hope that this was the last meeting between the two sides before the ratification.

Republic Owes $37 Million to Foreign Creditors

OW0112141891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1100 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The latest reports from the Lithuanian Economy Ministry say Lithuania owes 37 million U.S. dollars to foreign creditors. Previously, the debt was estimated at $100 million.

As IF [INTERFAX] reported earlier, the Lithuanian Government has committed itself to paying off a share of the Union external debt equivalent to the sum invested in the Lithuanian economy.

The Soviet Union has offered Lithuania to pay off a proportional share of its foreign debt worth about $700 million.

The Economy Ministry experts believe all Lithuanian enterprises owing to foreign creditors will be able to pay off their debts without problems since they actively export their products. According to the ministry, there are only 17 such enterprises in the republic.

Deputy Minister of National Defense Appointed

LD2911130191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Norbertas Vidrinskas has been appointed Lithuanian deputy minister of national defense. He has been entrusted with the duties of chief of staff and temporarily, until the Lithuanian Army is restored and its commander appointed, with the coordination of the work of the national defense units.

Minister Cited on Deteriorating Energy Supply

LD2711154191 Moscow TASS in English 1350 GMT 27 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Serafim Bykhun]

[Text] Vilnius November 27 TASS—"It is unrealistic for Lithuania to expect all the energy supplies it needs from the Soviet Union, and that leaves us with only one option—to spend whatever we have rationally," Lithuanian Power Engineering Minister Lyaonas Ashmontas said at a special parliamentary debate on energy issues. By cutting down gasoline sales to public Lithuania can save up to 30 thousand tons a month. Gasoline price rises are also envisaged, he said.

Gasoline sales have already been rationed in the Baltic republic, but Power Engineering Ministry officials propose still harsher measures.

The crisis has become so acute that maximum room temperatures never rise above 15 degrees centigrade in Lithuanian homes.

We cannot rule out the possibility that hot water will only be provided two days a week and TV transmissions limited to night shows only, Lithuanian Power Engineering Deputy Minister Saulus Kutas told journalists.

Federation Affairs

Rutskoy Says Present Government 'Out of Touch'

LD3011174391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1406 GMT 30 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Valentin Pavlov]

[Excerpts] Barnaul, 30 Nov (TASS)—Aleksandr Rutskoy, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] vice president, met today with the people's deputies of the Altay, leaders of the kray, local businessmen, and journalists. After having visited the enterprises of Biysk and Barnaul the day before, and having acquainted himself with the procedure of the conversion process, the vice president expressed the conviction that the defense complex will be able to produce, in the nearest future, modern equipment for the processing of agricultural produce to meet the needs of the health services and other branches of the national economy. In order to fulfill this, everything must be done at the republican level to retain the scientific and production collectives of the defense industry, the contractual ties between the industrial enterprises and the suppliers, and to resolve the issues of financing.

At the same time one of the latest decrees issued by the president of Russia—according to which liability has been dropped with regard to contractual supplies—places the work of the industrial enterprises on the brink of a catastrophe, the vice president said. As a result of this, agreements for next year have not been concluded, state orders have not been formulated, and enterprises are being brought to a standstill. The Siberians do not support such policies. According to Aleksandr Rutskoy, he was convinced of this at the meetings with the working collectives. [passage omitted]

According to Russia's vice president the present government is out of touch with real life, and will not be able to extricate the country from the crisis. "I will try once again to talk to Gorbachev and Yeltsin, and tell them about everything that I have seen here in Siberia." Aleksandr Rutskoy continues his visit to the Altay.

Threatens To Resign

LD0112130591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Text] Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy has come out openly in opposition to the Russian Government. This is what a report by the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY from Barnaul which we have just received says:

Speaking on 30 November at a meeting with leaders of Barnaul's industrial enterprises and commercial structures, Aleksandr Rutskoy once again spoke out against the liberalization of prices and the program, as he put it, for the disintegration of the military industrial complex. Talking about the new composition of the Russian Cabinet of Ministers, Rutskoy stressed in particular that Yegor Gaydar would be a splendid deputy minister of economics or finances, but a more experienced person should be the minister. The vice president also condemned certain people's deputies, calling them little boys in pink trousers and yellow shoes, who have pulled down the Union and who are now continuing to pull down Russia. Russia should be united and indivisible, proclaimed Aleksandr Rutskoy.

Rutskoy noted that he himself was always awkward, and he will be even more awkward after this trip to Novosibirsk and Altay kray. After his return to Moscow he intends to meet the president and to convince him that, all the same, he is a little bit off course, as Rutskoy put it. If he does not understand and all of this continues, I will immediately resign, stated Russia's vice president.

Maj. Gen. Rutskoy spoke in favor of reducing the armed forces while qualitatively re-equipping them and of forming an army on a contract basis. He also reported that at present the numbers of homeless officers exceed 400,000 and that about 40 percent of people in the army are demoralized.

Gives News Conference in Barnaul

LD0112184691 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1437 GMT 1 Dec 91

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy intends to resign. Aleksandr Rutskoy announced his intention at the press- conference he gave in Barnaul on November 30. I have such an intention and shall do it,—he said. After this trip is over, I shall try to explain to the president that we have chosen the wrong way. If he does not understand me, I shall resign.—he added. According to Rutskoy, he has always been and will ever be against freeing of prices. That sort of market economy, in which more than 600 exchanges and 1,200 commercial banks have been concocted in the Russian Federation, does not suit him. Rutskoy characterized their activity as pure profiteering and put the blame on them for the lack of cash in the country to pay wages and salaries.

According to Rutskoy, many of the people surrounding Boris Yeltsin are also a destructive force. He mentioned Gaydar, Burbulis and Shokhin among those people and called them the boys in pink trousers, red shirts and yellow shoes. Rutskoy also said that there are many people among those whom he had met in Biysk, and those were mainly the heads of the missile-manufacturing plants, who could take ministerial posts.

Vladimir Ryzhov, secretary of the Altay Territorial Administration, told a PF correspondent that a joint statement is being prepared currently by the territorial administration and heads of the territorial soviet to disavow some of the most odious remarks made by Rutskoy.

Ends Visit to Altay Region

LD0112193391 Moscow TASS in English 1840 GMT 1 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Valentin Pavlov]

[Text] Barnaul December 1 TASS—Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy on Sunday [1 December] ended his visit to Siberia and the Altay Region.

During his trip, he visited Novosibirsk, Biysk and Barnaul to discuss the pace of conversion of defence enterprises.

The Russian Government set up a special committee on conversion a month ago to facilitate this process in the Republic. To this end, the committee has worked out seven main guidelines to carry out conversion.

These include agricultural and industrial processing, construction, public health, transport and others.

Rutskoy stressed defence enterprises should be reorganised into joint stock companies to create economic incentives and speed up conversion.

Notes Differences With Yeltsin

LD0212132291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1210 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 2 Dec (TASS)—There is no mechanism in Russia today for implementing the laws being passed, while the measures being proposed in the sphere of economic reform are too tough, believes Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy. Despite his differences with Boris Yeltsin on this and other issues, the Russian vice president is not about to resign.

In an interview with a TASS correspondent at the end of his trip to Siberia, he said that the practical implementation of the reforms being carried out is being hindered by "the absence of a link between the laws being passed and their practical application." In his view, "today's proposed measures to liberalize and stabilize the economy are very tough." At the same time, Rutskoy noted that he does not consider himself an opponent of the market, rather that he favors consistent and gradual steps in that direction.

"I have my differences with the president both on the issue of price liberalization and on certain other matters," the vice president also stated, having admitted that he had contemplated resigning. "On the other hand, the people elected us and I am willing to continue working with the president and the new government. I am not going to resign," he stressed.

Today "it is necessary to concentrate on specific deeds and to stop hoping for aid from the West," Rutskoy noted. "The West will not give them sums which are necessary to raise our country's economy," he said. "We do not so much need aid and credits as mutually advantageous cooperation."

Describing the current situation in the country, and particularly in the army, Rutskoy noted that it is necessary to stop "endlessly playing around with people who have weapons in their hands," since this may "end very badly." According to him, there are already around 400,000 officers in the USSR's Armed Forces who are without housing, and the use of the army in interethnic conflicts is continuing. At the same time Rutskoy does not believe in the possibility of a new putsch in the country by the military.

The vice president came out in favor of the immediate withdrawal of troops from the zone of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict.

Party Views Resignation Remarks

LD0212163691 Moscow TASS in English 1559 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By TASS news analyst Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow December 2 TASS—The People's Party of Free Russia, which up to now has been a loyal supporter of Boris Yeltsin, denied that Russia's Vice-President, Aleksandr Rutskoy, will resign.

When visiting Siberia, Rutskoy, the founder of the People's Party, told journalists that he had thought of resigning as a result of disagreements with Boris Yeltsin over the liberalisation of prices.

Vasiliy Lipitskiy, chairman of the party's board, believes that reports about Rutskoy's remarks were "overdramatised by journalists".

"Our party undoubtedly supports the liberalisation of prices and sees the necessity of it. But it seems to us, just as it did before, that this should be the result of a certain process, not the beginning of it", Lipitskiy told TASS.

Lipitsky is of the opinion that the vice-president, along with his party, considers "it absolutely essential to carry out reforms. "The matter concerns only tactical aspects as to how the president's programme should be implemented," he said.

Judging by everything, Rutksoy, while in Siberia, spoke somewhat heatedly about Yeltsin's pricing policy. In a TASS interview in Barnaul later on, he admitted he thought of resigning, "particularly after criticisms levelled at me following the developments in Checheno-Ingushetia".

Rutskoy was the initiator of imposing a state of emergency in Checheno-Ingushetia. This resulted in the sharpening of tension in the North Caucasian region, and Boris Yeltsin quickly agreed with the Russian parliament decision to reverse the decree.

In any case, the uproar raised over the vice-president leaves Yeltsin in a complicated situation. He must decide whether he wants to part ways with Aleksandr Rutskoy, who is still popular among broad masses of people and who up to now not only ensured additional support for the Russian authorities but also created a party of his own. The People's Party of Free Russia is apparently ready to faithfully serve the President of Russia. Rutskoy added that he was "prepared to continue to work with the president and the new government".

Yeltsin Reacts to Union Without Ukraine

LD3011180991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1732 GMT 30 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow, 30 Nov (TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has stated that he cannot conceive of the Union without the Ukraine, whose population is due to vote in a referendum tomorrow to decide whether or not this republic should be independent.

Addressing journalists after today's working meeting of the presidents of the USSR and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, at which the budgetary policy of the Union was harmonized with that of Russia, Boris Yeltsin expressed apprehension that if the Ukraine left the Union, "it would rapidly introduce its own national currency and Russia would be left to pick up the pieces."

The Russian president said that Mikhail Gorbachev had just assured him that he would take every step to see that the Ukraine signs the Union treaty.

"As far as I am concerned, I have always said that I am for the Union," Boris Yeltsin declared.

Further on Ukraine Comments

LD3011212291

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 1900 GMT on 30 November, during the "TV Inform" newscast, broadcast a report by correspondent A. Gerasimov on the agreement reached today between USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin on the budgetary policy for the USSR and Russia for the fourth quarter. As Gerasimov summarized the situation, the video showed Moscow street scenes and switched to Yeltsin standing inside a building, opposite an unidentified and unshown interviewer.

Yeltsin said: "This is quite a harsh budget with harsh obligations for all the republics—but at the same time Russia will make certain compromises if the republics will give their guarantees."

The interviewer asked: "Were representatives from the republics present today?"

Yeltsin replied: "No."

The interviewer asked: "So you were advancing conditions, as it were, for...?"

Yeltsin interrupted: "This is inevitable. After all, they are to receive money, these republics, and for this reason they must give some kind of guarantees, as it were, for this all-Union credit."

Gerasimov, over further shots of Moscow streets, summarized the discussions at today's meeting between Yeltsin and Gorbachev. The video then cut back to the interview with Yeltsin.

Yeltsin said: "Russia is taking fully upon itself the monetary allowances of servicemen, provisions for science and culture, and budgetary organizations. It is taking these upon itself. It is guaranteeing this. For this reason salaries will be received, whatever option is taken."

The interviewer then noted: "In your interview in yesterday's IZVESTIYA you stated that Russia would not sign the Union treaty until the Ukraine signs it. Judging from Kravchuk's statements the Ukraine does not intend to participate in the Union treaty. What does this mean? Will there not be a Union?"

Yeltsin replied: "You have paraphrased it somewhat. You have put it inaccurately, just as IZVESTIYA did."

The interviewer asked: "You will not—Russia will not—sign?"

Yeltsin said: "No, give me the IZVESTIYA."

The interviewer said: "I have IZVESTIYA here." Yeltsin, taking the copy of IZVESTIYA, read from the article they are discussing. He said: "At today's State Council I will be compelled to say that until the Ukraine signs the political treaty, Russia will not sign. Well," said Yeltsin, "that is approximately it, although what I said is not entirely accurately reproduced here, but in essence, yes. I cannot envisage a union without the Ukraine. That is the essence of it. Because if the Ukraine were to rapidly introduce its own national currency, the entire ruble monetary mass would collapse on Russia. This cannot be. In general, what kind of union would it be without the Ukraine? The president has told me just now that he will take all measures necessary for the Ukraine to sign the Union treaty. Well, that is all. I am saying what I have always said—that I am in favor of the Union."

The interviewer finished with: "Well, thank you."

Yeltsin replied: "Thank you. Goodbye."

Viktor Ivanenko Appointed Federal Security Chief

PM2911131391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[TASS-RIA-ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA report: "Appointments"]

[Text] By a decree dated 26 November, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President Boris Yeltsin has appointed Viktor Ivanenko general director of the RSFSR Federal Security Agency and RSFSR minister; Vladimir Podelyakin first deputy general director of the RSFSR Federal Security Agency; Stanislav Orlov, Stanislav Pyatakov, Yevgeniy Savostyanov, Sergey Stepashin, and Vladimir Fisenko deputy general directors of the RSFSR Federal Security Agency; and Valeriy Yampolskiy deputy general director of the RSFSR Federal Security Agency and chief of the Main Administration for Work With Personnel.

FSA Inaugurated

LD2911140391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1256 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondents Igor Gvritishvili and Andrey Palaria]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Nov (TASS)—The "presentation" of the Federal Security Agency [Agentstvo Federalnoy Besopasnosti—FSA] of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, which was set up on 26 November by a decree of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, was held today in the Lyubyanka [former USSR KGB headquarters].

Forty-four year old Viktor Ivanenko, General Director of the FSA, who spoke at the news conference, briefed Soviet and foreign journalists on the main tasks and directions of the newly created agency. These include the struggle to combat organized crime, terrorism, the narcotics business, contraband and corruption. Matters of intelligence abroad will be handled by the USSR Central Intelligence Service, Viktor Ivanenko noted.

In answer to a question on the possibility of cooperation with the special services of the former union republics, Viktor Ivanenko said that the FSA will endeavor to organize fruitful cooperation with them. However, if a threat to the security of Russia were to emanate from the territory of those republics, the FSA would be obliged to take appropriate measures.

Regarding FSA personnel, the General Director of the agency said that 22,000 members of staff work in the territorial bodies and about 20,000 in the central apparatus.

The agency leadership was presented to correspondents at the news conference: Vladimir Podelyakin, first deputy general director; Stanislav Orlov, deputy for matters of combatting organized crime; Stanislav Pyatakov, Deputy for counterintelligence activities; Vladimir Fisenko, deputy for intelligence; Valeriy Yampolskiy, deputy for personnel work; Yevgeniy Savostyanov, deputy general director for Moscow; Sergey Stepashin for Leningrad; and Andrey Oligov, head of the FSA Public Relations Center.

No Foreign Intelligence Plans

OW0112040191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1650 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The General Director of the Russian Agency for Federal Security (AFS) [FSA] Victor Ivanenko has not ruled the possibility of forming an intelligence network in some republics of the former USSR, if "we conclude that a serious threat to the national interests of Russia is rising there". Speaking at a Friday [29 November] news conference in Moscow, he said that the agency formed a few days ago under Yeltsin's decree instead of the Russian KGB "is carefully following" the developments in those republics. However, he said that the AFS is bending every effort to establish friendly ties with the intelligence services of the republics of the former Union to prevent confrontation.

As for intelligence operations abroad, the new Central Intelligence Service led by Yevgeniy Primakov is responsible for them. "We are going to proceed from the possibilities of intelligence work in Russian territory (international exchanges, entry and exit, etc.), therefore we do not plan to set up a network of agents in foreign states, the AFS chief explained.

Answering a question about the recent interview of Eduard Shevardnadze to KYODO Tsushin, Ivanenko said that "there is nothing concrete to date concerning preparations of an anti-constitutional coup". However, he said, there are signs of motions by individual persons dissatisfied with the policies of the Russian leadership who intend to use the coming price liberalisation and possible social upheavals for directing them against the leaders of Russia and coming to power.

Ivanenko said that the AFS has established direct contacts with a number of Western special services. He voiced readiness to cooperate in combatting terrorisn, drug trafficking, organized crime, including the so-called Russian mafia operating in Germany among other places.

According to Ivanenko, there are 22,000 officers in the territorial bodies of the agency. Some 20,000 military-men, including logistics units, in Moscow have been placed under the AFS.

Ivanenko said that the estimated budget of the organization for 1992 is 1.5 bn roubles in last month's prices.

He said that the question of interaction with the Inter-Republican Security Service [ISS] led by Vadim Bakatin has not been settled completely. There are certain differences in approaches to cooperation, the main one being that the AFS believes that the ISS should reduce its investigative activities in Russia to the minimum and submit its corresponding structures to the agency. According to Ivanenko, the two agencies are to sign an agreeent. Still the wish to find possibilities for cooperation dominates, he said.

Ivanenko Holds News Conference

LD2911203891 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Nov 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast, presented by S. Dorenko]

[Text] Viktor Ivanenko, the chief of Russian security, today told journalists about the structure of his organization.

[Correspondent V. Skvortsov] The Russian KGB no longer exists. The Federal Security Agency [FSA] of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] has been set up in its place. Journalists were told about the details of Yeltsin's decree on the creation of the FSA at a news conference by Viktor Ivanenko, the agency's general director. The name change not only has a formal meaning but also signifies a break with the notorious USSR KGB and the creation of a fundamentally new security service.

At the basis of the work of the new department is the renunciation of party leadership, full deideologization, the cessation of total control, of political investigation, and of the battle against dissidents. Incidentally, of the agency's 40,000 employees, the majority previously worked in the USSR KGB. The 1992 budget of the FSA has not yet been approved. In Ivanenko's opinion, it should be in the region of 1.5 billion rubles. A new concept of security is to be elaborated in the near future. This will be reflected in the new law on the security of the RSFSR.

The situation with regard to the USSR KGB is not completely clear. Talks are still being held on the division of property and the handover of archives. The role of Vadim Bakatin's Interrepublican Security Service under the new conditions is not clear either. The FSA intends to cooperate actively with its colleagues from other countries, in particular in the battle against the so-called red mafia set up by emigres from the USSR in many countries.

Ivanenko on Coup Rumors

LD2911204891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Nov 91

[News conference with Viktor Ivanenko, general director of the Federal Security Agency of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic in Moscow on 29 November; from the "TV Inform" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Ivanenko] It is not just a name change. If you like, it is an attempt to break once and for all with the sad past, the legacy which is such a heavy burden on the shoulders of the present officers of the state security bodies. By this I mean all the crimes and all the pain and all the sufferings that our predecessors inflicted on the people. We are setting our course toward fundamentally different special services, for which the main thing will be the supremacy of the law and orientation towards moral points of reference.

[Correspondent Fedorov] There is much talk at present, both in the media and everywhere, in the streets and in lines, about the possibility of a repetition of what happened in August. By virtue of your post you are someone who ought to know everything or almost everything, so what is your prediction?

[Ivanenko] According to the information we have, these rumors and what has been published on this subject, predicting a repetition of the August events following the previous scenario, I consider to be without real foundation.

More on FSA Role

PM0212160491 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 91 p 3

[A. Vasilyev report on 29 November press conference at Russian KGB: "The FSA [Federal Security Agency] Is Not the KGB"]

[Excerpts] On 29 November journalists invited to a news conference at the Russian KGB learned that they had come to a new organization which shares with its Predecessor only the last letter of the famous abbreviation. Last week RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President B. Yeltsin signed a decree on transforming the committee into the Federal Security Agency (FSA). It is led not by a chairman but by a general director, V. Ivanenko. [passage omitted]

Foreign journalists once again proved to be better informed than their Soviet colleagues, and inquired about the work of the No. 12 laboratory, which, as V. Ivanenko said, was engaged in "the study of certain special, sensitive matters." The FSA general director has no documentary evidence about this and the Russian department has no such laboratory, but the opening and inspection of correspondence still continues, though under strict control and only in order to expose people involved in crime. As far as these people are concerned, it serves them right, so to speak, although it is unpleasant to realize that someone might suspect your letters of containing a hint of something criminal and so you will come "under scrutiny." There is no point in objecting—all the special services in the world engage in this type of activity.

After all, the FSA is not the KGB.

Burbulis Comments on Economy, Rutskoy Stand

LD0212035491 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1940 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Interview with Gennediy Burbulis, "state councillor and first deputy chairman of the Russian Government" by correspondents Sergey Dorenko and Nikolay Svanidze—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Dorenko] Russians now seem to be quite ready, psychologically, for reform, but our anxious pre-reform apprehensions are being disturbed further from time to time by all kinds of rumors. To find out from the horse's mouth, Russian television and the Russian Government will be holding meetings every Sunday so that Russians, our viewers, can learn about the actions of their government from its leaders. Today in our studio we have Gennadiy Burbulis.

Among the rumors now disturbing the people the worst is, perhaps, yesterday's report—a very controversial one—by the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY, that there will be no year-end bonuses and that savings banks will stop paying out cash. Later, the falsehood of this information was proved on television and in other media. Where did this information come from, and is it really all that wrong? Will there be money?

[Burbulis] Yes, money will indeed be there despite all the difficulties, but the situation we faced yesterday which disturbed Russians can be explained in two ways. Either this is a case of intended provocation, which, among other things, is aimed at damaging our work, or it is a naive attempt, maybe, led by some noble sentiments, to warn the population in time. I promise the esteemed Russians that we will insist, by resorting to judicial bodies, that there will be no such glaring disinformation in the future. I will be very grateful to Russian television if we jointly adhere to this principle. Despite the most complicated money situation, our aim is to do all the necessary work today so that starting today, the minimum wage level is raised along with pensions and grants in accordance with the president's decree. [passage omitted]

[Dorenko] Gennadiy Eduardovich, if the situation is forming such that there is an objective process whereby the Russian purse is replacing gradually and naturally the Union purse, won't the republics' apprehensions about the strengthening role of Russia, about Russia taking the place of the former center, increase?

[Burbulis] I believe that these questions are quite natural. In a political-psychological context, they are becoming better defined, moving in the category of economic expediency. I am ready to report to our esteemed people of Russia that a session of the heads of government, the Interrepublican Economic Committee, those who have signed the economic agreement, is to be held on 3 December, at which, among other issues, the question of coordinating the action of the sovereign states in the implementation of the economic reform proposed by the Russian Government will be raised. There we will try to show all of our program and propose a mechanism of joint action that would allow it to be implemented in practice. [passage omitted]

[Svanidze] Gennadiy Eduardovich, the main topic today is the referendum in Ukraine. Evidently, Ukraine is to be independent. After that, is the Union of Sovereign States a necessity for Russia, and in what form could the republics coexist, if one takes into account that Russia and Ukraine are beyond doubt the biggest economic partners in the former USSR?

[Burbulis] I again want to affirm the highest level of responsibility and the maximum interest that Russia and the Russian leadership have in a full-blooded and constructive Union of Sovereign States. In this respect, from the point of view of the principle of our policy, nobody should be in any doubt. At the same time, everything that is happening now in Ukraine, and the possible outcome of the elections being held today, requires of us, of Russia, equally clearcut behavior. I can state that we will do all we can so that the historical Slavic tradition of many centuries that unites the Ukrainian and Russian peoples, and which binds us by a multitude of cultural, economic and social ties, will not be destroyed so simply overnight. [passage omitted]

Now, about the dates and the procedure for price increases. First of all, our position is that such a drastic decision presupposes a good and thorough agreement with all the republics. We have the open borders, a single ruble currency. Unfortunately, we have the uncontrollable flow of goods and, in this case, we could undertake such a measure only by coordinating the processes in all the republics. We apply the principle that, because in this case we are the ones who have elaborated these decisions, we will be having ad hoc negotiations with other republics. Second, it is not enough to come to the painful conclusion that this measure is inevitable. It also is important to understand under what conditions—technical, organizational, and politcal—it will be expedient. Third, we should draw up a more precise list of goods and foods for which the fixed prices, controlled by the state, should be introduced. Wishful thinking will not do. We should be making serious calculations and be convinced that we could pull it off.

[Dorenko] Will this come in December or the new year?

[Burbulis] Meanwhile, judging from the way this process is happening actually, this should be in December. This certainly will be announced in advance and I want to confirm again that everything that the government does today means one thing: Our task is to convince every Russian that urgent economic reforms are in his interest, are vitally necessary, and that it is quite possible to implement them in practice. [passage omitted]

Here we have a case where, in your place it is impossible not to ask questions and in mine it is impossible not to answer them. I will comment on three aspects, recognizing the full responsibility of my appraisal. I am convinced that for some of us politicians, cultivated in accelerated form under the regime of the democratic reforms, it is very important to relate our appraisals, even though they may be sincere, heartfelt, and emotional appraisals to all the consequences which they may have for the perception and understanding of the majority of Russians. That is a kind of rule for all of us today which it is not always possible to observe.

Second, I sincerely regret that, for some reason or other, Aleksandr Georgiyevich has failed as yet to understand, to comprehend, that these measures are not dependent on the whims of economists, ministers, or presidents. These are measures which it would be criminal today not to fulfil, not to take. It is criminal not to undertake them, but naturally not everyone has the gift of this conclusion in the clear form which our government uses nowadays.

As to whether the personal viewpoint of the vice president signifies a crisis of executive authority and places in doubt the solidarity of the government team of President Yeltsin in the main strategic areas of reform: certainly not. There is no drama for us here. We are prepared to explain our approach and our actions to every Russian, including the vice president, but we shall not submit to such appraisals, although they naturally cause heartache and human sadness because they do not seem proper, to put it mildly, within the framework of united responsibility before Russians. I hope that we shall be able to clarify with Aleksandr Georgiyevich, both collectively and personally, what he has in mind and what his position is on our common work in the wake of these statements. [passage omitted]

If one speaks about our parliament, we have a sufficiently clear- cut plan of how to ensure in a regular and vigorous way the norms for ensuring the government's reforms. On a whole range of base committees and commissions, we virtually have full agreement on content, about what documents are needed, what laws should be amended, what acts should be introduced in the first place, etc., but this, unfortunately, does not coincide with the position of those deputies, who in the final analysis press the button. For us this is no surprise, no tragedy, because I believe that the higher the quality of our move into purely executive structural reforms, the more rapidly the voters and the deputies themselves will recognize the necessity of a substantially more precise definition of this structure of representative power, especially for the next few years to come.

[Dorenko] We hope that next week, when we have a new meeting with the leadership of the Russian Government, several new sessions of yours will take place and that you will be able to talk about your activity and what awaits our Russian television viewers. We wish you much success and give you our thanks for the meeting. Good bye. [Burbulis] Thank you. All the very best.

Presidential Decrees, Resolutions Signed

On Academy of Sciences

PM0212100191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic presidential decree "On the Organization of the Russian Academy of Sciences"]

[Text] Attaching great importance to the development of fundamental science as the basis of Russia's economic, social, and cultural development, I resolve:

1. To restore the Russian Academy of Sciences as Russia's highest scientific institution.

2. To determine that the Russian Academy of Sciences is an all-Russian self-governing organization operating on the basis of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] legislation and its own statute.

With their consent, to consider all members of the USSR Academy of Sciences as members of the Russian Academy of Sciences retaining the titles of full members and corresponding members, and, in addition, members of the Russian Academy of Sciences elected on the basis of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree of 24 January 1990 "On the Founding of the Russian Federation Academy of Sciences" and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Resolution of 15 February 1991 "On Further Work to Organize the Russian Academy of Sciences."

The Russian Academy of Sciences unites all members of the Russian Academy of Sciences: full members and corresponding members of the academy and other scientific associates of academy institutions.

3. To determine that the Russian Academy of Sciences incorporates all institutions, laboratories, enterprises, and organizations providing research in the main areas of fundamental science, including institutions currently attached to the USSR Academy of Sciences and situated on RSFSR territory.

To transfer the ownership of buildings, major scientific facilities, ships, scientific equipment, and other state property currently at the disposal of and used by USSR Academy of Sciences institutions and organizations on RSFSR territory to the Russian Academy of Sciences. The question of the Russian Academy of Sciences using the aforementioned property when the latter is situated on the territory of other sovereign states will be decided on the basis of appropriate agreements.

Henceforth, questions concerning the distribution of property rights within the Russian Academy of Sciences, and matters connected with scientific institutions leaving the academy, will be decided on the basis of the Russian Academy of Sciences statute and RSFSR legislation.

To complete the formation of a unified Russian Academy of Sciences in December 1991, taking into account recommendations by the USSR Academy of Sciences general meeting, the conferences of scientists in academic institutes, and the meetings of the founders of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

4. The RSFSR Government must:

take measures to transfer buildings, fixed assets, and other property to the institutes, laboratories, enterprises, and organizations currently under the jurisdiction of the USSR Academy of Sciences and situated on RSFSR territory;

draw up and submit to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet proposals on exempting Russian Academy of Sciences institutions, enterprises, and organizations from all taxes, dues, and duties, including those levied on foreign currency revenues earned through foreign economic activity, and channeling these sums to develop scientific activity, train highly skilled cadres, and strengthen the academy's material, technical, and social base;

ensure that the capital construction of science and production projects and the construction of housing, children's preschool institutions, schools, and other social facilities belonging to the Russian Academy of Sciences and its regional departments and scientific centers are incorporated in the state order with the requisite financial backing in 1992, coordinating the volume of construction and assembly work where necessary;

provide for the appropriation of resources, including foreign currency, for the priority financing of basic research conducted by Russian Academy of Sciences institutions when preparing the RSFSR's draft budget and balance of payments for 1992;

draw up proposals to enhance the social protection of workers in Russian Academy of Sciences institutions, organizations, and enterprises during the transition to a market economy.

[Signed] RSFSR President B. Yeltsin
The Kremlin, Moscow, 21 November 1991

On Kurchatov Nuclear Institute

PM2711154391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic presidential decree "On the Creation of the 'Kurchatov Institute' Russian Scientific Center"]

[Text] With a view to implementing state scientific and technical policy in the sphere of the elaboration and assimilation of safe and environmentally friendly ways of producing energy based on nuclear fusion and fission, in order to create the necessary conditions for the development of the research and studies done by the I.V. Kurchatov Nuclear Energy Institute, and so as to make more effective use of our unique scientific and experimental base, I resolve that:

1. The "Kurchatov Institute" Russian Scientific Center shall be set up on the basis of the I.V. Kurchatov Nuclear Energy Institute.

It shall be laid down that the center is a state scientific research organization.

The center may include state as well as other organizations, enterprises, and institutions.

The list of state organizations, enterprises, and institutions making up the center shall be determined by the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Government.

2. The RSFSR Government shall, within the space of two months:

ratify the provision on the "Kurchatov Institute" Russian Scientific Center;

determine the inventory, procedure, and timetable for the transfer of state organizations, enterprises, funds, property, land, and other resources to the center and the organizations comprising it;

draw up proposals for the financing and material and technical supply of the center.

[Signed] RSFSR President B. Yeltsin
The Kremlin, Moscow, 21 November 1991

On State Reserves System

PM2911150391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, presidential decree "On Forming System of RSFSR State Reserves"]

[Text] With a view to creating conditions for the future operation of state and mobilization reserves on the territory of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and safeguarding the Russian Federation's state interests, I resolve:

1. To form on the basis of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers Committee for State Material Reserves an RSFSR Government Committee for State Reserves, tasking it with the operational management of facilities and stocks belonging to state and mobilization reserves on Russian Federation territory.

2. That the RSFSR Government Committee for State Reserves receive in 1991 from the USSR Cabinet of Ministers Committee for State Material Reserves the territorial administrations, institutions, enterprises, organizations, bases, depots, and safe custody stores with all existing material assets from state and mobilization reserves under its jurisdiction on RSFSR territory.

3. That the RSFSR Government Committee for State Reserves, the RSFSR Ministry of the Economy and Finance, the RSFSR Ministry of Justice, and the RSFSR State Committee for Defense Questions, with the participation of other interested organizations, submit to the RSFSR Government within one month draft regulations for the RSFSR state reserve and the RSFSR mobilization reserve.

4. That the RSFSR Ministry of the Economy and Finance, in conjunction with the RSFSR Government Committee for State Reserves and the RSFSR State Committee for Defense Questions, hold talks within one month with the USSR Defense Ministry and interested republics on questions of organizing the storage of material assets for the mobilization requirements of the Armed Forces.

5. This decree comes into forces from the moment it is signed.

[Signed] RSFSR President B. Yeltsin
The Kremlin, Moscow, 25 November 1991

On Vice President's Duties

PM2911155791 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, presidential order "On Duties of the RSFSR Vice President"]

[Text] 1. The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] vice president will be tasked with directly coordinating and organizing the work of:

the RSFSR Presidential Committee for Sanitary and Epidemiological Supervision of Safe Working in Industry, Mining Inspection, and Radiation Security;

the RSFSR Presidential State Committee for Standardization, Metrology, and Certification;

the RSFSR Presidential State Committee for Civil Defense, Emergency Situations, and Eliminating the Aftermath of Natural Disasters;

the Main Staff of the National Guard;

the RSFSR Presidential Committee for the Protection of the Russian Federation's Economic Interests;

the RSFSR Presidential State Committee for Conversion;

the RSFSR Presidential Commission for Humanitarian and Technical Assistance.

2. It is hereby prescribed that the RSFSR vice president ensures collaboration between the committees and management organs of the Center for the Operational Monitoring of the Course of Reforms and the RSFSR Government and Union structures.

[Signed] RSFSR President B. Yeltsin
The Kremlin, Moscow, 19 November 1991

On Export License Commission

PM2911160591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Government resolution supplementing Resolution No. 7 "On Regulating Exports of Petroleum and Petroleum Products From the RSFSR"]

[Text] An RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Government resolution dated 25 November, supplementing RSFSR Government Resolution No. 7 of 15 November 1991 "On Regulating Exports of Petroleum and Petroleum Products from the RSFSR," has formed a commission to review petroleum and petroleum product export licenses submitted for renewal. The commission comprises representatives of the RSFSR Ministry of the Economy and Finance, the RSFSR Ministry of Fuel and Power Generation, the RSFSR Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, the RSFSR Ministry of Trade and Material Resources, the "Rosneftegaz" Corporation, the "Rosnefteprodukt" Concern, the RSFSR State Customs Committee, the RSFSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the RSFSR KGB, and the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Information.

The commission has been tasked with completing by 28 November 1991 the work to review the licenses submitted for renewal and reporting the results to the RSFSR president.

Yeltsin Chairs Session Examining Decrees

LD2811164491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1545 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 28 Nov (TASS)—As the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Government's press service reports, a routine session of the government of the Russian Federation was held here today, chaired by Boris Yeltsin. The session examined the decrees of the RSFSR president and adopted government resolutions on the liberalization of prices, on the program for drafting acts of legislation to back up reforms, on the situation concerning the USSR's foreign debt and the results of talks with former Union republics on dividing up the foreign debt, and on the conclusion of interrepublican and economic agreements for 1992. Among very important documents connected with the social protection of Russia's population in the period of transition to the market, the decrees of the RSFSR president "on raising pensions, benefits, grants, and other social payments," "on alterations to the procedure for establishment of a minimum wage in the RSFSR," and "on the procedure for indexation of popular incomes in 1992" were examined. The government session also discussed other issues concerning the radical economic reform in the republic and the social protection of the population.

Commentary on Foreign Economic Activity Decree

PM2711125591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Vladimir Kuznetsov commentary: "Borders Open to Goods. Half-Open"]

[Text] The decree "On the Liberalization of Foreign Economic Activity in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]" has been passed and is already in force. It is entirely understandable that the first responses to it have been clearly positive—that we had to wait too long for it. "Nonetheless, we do not want people to get euphoric about the decree or to forget that—whether for subjective or objective reasons—the time that has been lost gives us no right to make any mistakes," Leonid Gurevich, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Subcommittee for Foreign Economic Ties and International Affairs, believes.

The deputy is confident that this is why we cannot afford any ill-considered decisions. The adopted decree is merely increasing the state of vagueness and, above all, it is not a document with direct and immediate effect. It turns out that, by liberalizing foreign economic activity, we are to all intents and purposes setting this activity back for a certain indeterminate period. Do you care for some examples? Point 11 states "this decree comes into force from the moment it is signed..." Point 1 states "foreign currency operations are implemented on the basis of licenses issued under a procedure laid down by the RSFSR Government." But currently no such "procedure" exists. This means that this paragraph has not come into force as soon as the decree was signed. Here is another example: The existing procedure covering retail trade for foreign currency is retained until 1 July 1992, but under Point 11 all payments in foreign currency are banned as of 1 January. First, it is not clear just what is being maintained until 1 July. Second, both dates also postpone the immediate effect of the decree.

In his appeal at the congress B. Yeltsin devoted a considerable amount of attention to the abuses and corruption in the foreign economic sphere of activity. How is this problem regulated by the decree?

We will pick out just one point. Point 5 states that foreign currency can be sold only for import purposes. This means that somebody has, each time, to demonstrate that they are buying foreign currency precisely for import purposes. Is this not a loophole for bribery?

There is also the problem of the repatriation of profits by Western investors. They do not need rubles yet they do not gain from exchanging them—in accordance with this document—at the current rate of around 100 rubles [R] [against which foreign currency is unspecified]. Judge for yourselves, if a hamburger in the West costs, say, $5, and you can sell it at a profit, this means that in order to make a profit in our country it would have to be sold for R500. What possible incentive is there in that?

Moreover, the West needs a clear legal base. That is, a decree which would give entrepreneurs an absolutely clear concept of their rights and obligations. So far we are dealing with a document in which certain articles can be interpreted ambiguously. Look at Point 2, Paragraph 3: "the provision on the licensing and quota-setting system for exports and imports of goods in the RSFSR for 1992 shall be ratified by 1 January 1992, envisaging the sale of quotas and licenses by competitive tender or auction." What are we to make of the word "envisaging"? As one of the sale options or only "on a competitive basis"?

Unfortunately, these are by no means all the comments which I would like to make, but what is even more galling is that they emerged only after a cursory analysis of the decree's articles, and I hope that the Supreme Soviet session will examine it. Of course, not from the standpoint of repealing it, the deputy stressed. This law is exceptionally important and necessary, but we need to do more work on it.

Incidentally, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet is entitled to adopt the decree for examination within a seven-day period. Will it intervene, will it have time? November 22 is the last day.

Local Affairs

Chechen President Interviewed on Armed Forces

PM2911095391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Lieutenant Colonel N. Astashkin report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "D. Dudayev's Military Program"]

[Text] Groznyy—Recently I met with Dzhakhar Dudayev, president of the Chechen Republic, and asked him a number of questions connected with the plans for military organizational development in the republic.

As of today a national guard numbering 62,000 men has been formed in the Chechen Republic with a people's volunteer militia of 300,000 men. Since martial law has been lifted, an opportunity has appeared to begin the legislative preparation of the defense structures and of the defense system itself. Dudayev has proposed a concept of military building and a draft law on Defense.

Without going into detail, the general noted that the national armed forces must receive their share of equipment and arms from the arsenals of the Union Armed Forces since "70 percent of the republic's potential has gone on the needs of the military-industrial complex." First and foremost this means the weapons and equipment now on the territory of the Chechen Republic. The general does not intend to resort to any forcible actions whatsoever in this regard. He proposes that all "military" questions be resolved in the framework of a treaty with the Union on the common defense system. If the desired accord is not reached, an option is already being considered whereby weapons and equipment would be bought abroad.

Chechen President Dzhakhar Dudayev expressed the hope that on defense questions the Union and the republic will be reliable partners, but he added: "The least failure to fulfill treaty commitments poses the threat of grave consequences."

Dudayev on Chechen-Ingush Claim to Union Arms

LD2811105891 Moscow TASS in English 1037 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—"The Chechen Republic is entitled to its share of military equipment and armaments from the USSR armed forces arsenal", according to Dzhakhar Dudayev, president of this recently proclaimed republic in the north Caucasus. Dudayev, who is also a general in the reserves, justified his claim today in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR), a Soviet military daily, saying "70 percent of our republic's potential has been spent to support needs of the Soviet Union's military-industrial complex".

His interest extends only to those weapons and ammunition stationed on the Chechen republic territory. The general ensured he did not intend to resort to violence in this matter and hoped to solve all "military" issues within the framework of the treaty with the Soviet Union on the common defense system. In case a desirable agreement is not reached, the possibility of buying necessary weapons and armaments abroad is already under study.

The Chechen leader expressed hope that the union and the republic will be reliable partners regarding defense issues. However, "any failure to fulfill treaty obligations will be fraught with most serious consequences", he warned, without further elaboration.

As of today a 62,000-strong nation guard and 300,000-strong people's emergency volunteer corps have been formed in the Chechen republic, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reports.

The newspaper pointed to other claims for arms and armaments from the the USSR armed forces arsenal from the republics of Moldavia [Moldova], Georgia and Azerbaijan. The Chechen Republic is the first one in the Russian Federation to make similar demands.

Dudayev, North Ossetian Leaders Hold Talks

LD2811190491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Text] The RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY reports that the political and economic situation in the North Caucasus was discussed in Groznyy today between General Dudayev and Yuriy (?Beragov), deputy chairman of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet, and Sergey Khetagurov, chairman of the republican Council of Ministers. A preliminary agreement on economic ties between North Ossetia and Checheno has been reached. During the talks, General Dudayev unequivocally spoke in favor of a peaceful solution to the territory dispute between the Ingushs and Ossetians.

Internal Troops Command Conflict in Groznyy

LD2911190691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1601 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Nov (TASS)— The conflict between the leadership of Checheno-Ingushetia and the command authorities of a regiment of Ministry of Internal Affairs troops stationed in Groznyy continues. A TASS correspondent was told at the headquarters of the Ministry of Internal Affairs troops that this confrontation was provoked by the decree of Dzhakhar Dudayev, leader of the Chechen Republic, on bringing the units stationed on the territory of the republic up to strength only with local conscripts. The regiment has been advised to accepted 500 conscripts, which the command refused to do since there is no possibility of accommodating and feeding so many people.

Dudayev Mediates in 'Ingush-Ossetian Problem'

OW0112055991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1650 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Thursday [28 November] in Groznyy the President of the Chechen Republic Dzhakhar Dudayev received the deputy chairman of the North Ossetian parliament Yuri Biragov and the Prime Minister of the republic Sergei Khetagurov.

According to sources close to the Ossetian side, at the meeting Dudayev confirmed his determination to prevent bloodshed between Ossetians and Ingushes living in the Chechen-Ingush republic.

The Ingushes demand the return of the suburban district of North Ossetia and the section of Vladikavkaz (the North Ossetian capital) from which they were deported in 1944.

According to the same sources, Dudayev spoke unfavourably of the extremist views of certain Ingush public organizations, but agreed to assume a peace-making role to settle the Ingush-Ossetian problem by political means. He stressed, however, that he would do this only if units of the Dzerzhinsky division recently sent to North Ossetia would be pulled out. In this connection the North Ossetian leaders declared that the units arrived in the republic without their consent.

During the meeting in Groznyy, the two sides also discussed the supplies of oil products to South Ossetia the interruption of which following the developments in Groznyy has seriously hampered the operation of transport in the republic.

Results of Economic Blockade on Checheno Noted

LD3011101991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] For several days 10 huge trucks, which have arrived from Turkey, have been parked opposite the building of the Council of Ministers of the Chechen Republic. They have brought sugar in exchange for Groznyy oil. True, according to experts, this deal is clearly unsuccessful for the Chechen Republic, but according to the data of experts and assistants of President Dudayev, there is an abundance of sugar in Ukraine. Because of the country's economic situation, it is necessary to seek partners not within the USSR borders but beyond them. President Dudayev stated in a television interview that presently the Chechen Republic is holding talks with 30 countries, including China, the Netherlands, and Turkey. The government's task is to make way for entrepreneurs and to improve citizens' life. At the same time, chairman of the Committee for the Operational Management of Chechnya's National Economy Yaragi (?Mamadayev) said that if today Russia proclaims an economic blockade against us, it will be punishing itself more than the Chechen Republic and there is truth in his words because 75 percent of the Chechen Republic's industrial output goes to Russia. There are enterprises which are monopolists, for instance, the "Orgtekhnika" association which supplies electric and photographic equipment. However optimistic Yaragi Mamadayev, the main economic conductor of the Chechen Republic, expresses himself on the operation of industry and retail trade, in the Groznyy shops there are only bored sales assistants. Chechen Republic leaders see the way of stabilizing the economic situation in the development of the infrastructutre, in the use of better technologies to process agricultural produce, and in the development of tourism, the income from which, according to some calculations, can cover half the budget. How soon this can be done will depend on many factors, including also on the leaders' political sense.

Debate Among Ingush on Future Status Reported

LD2911061191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] The People's Council [narodnyy sovet] of Ingushetia has resolved that a referendum be held on 30 November on the state organization of the Ingush people. The referendum will contain the following question: Do the Ingush want to form their own autonomous republic as part of Russia, with the return of all seized lands and with its capital on the right bank of Vladikavkaz?

The representatives of the People's Council of Ingushetia believe that Russian President Boris Yeltsin should make a final decision on the Ingush problem according to the results of the referendum.

This opinion is disputed by the Executive Committee of Deputies of all levels of Ingushetia. It is supported by no small part of the Ingush population, including the (Niiskha) Justice Party, led by (Issa Kazduyev). (Kazduyev) claims that the Russian leadership is deliberately dragging out the implementation of the law on repressed peoples and that its proposals on the need for a referendum are an attempt to drive a wedge between the Chechen and Ingush. The leaders of this current in the Ingush movement believe that the territorial problem of the Ingush can be resolved only on the basis of mutual agreement among all the mountain peoples of the North Caucasus, but they also believe this requires the Ingush people itself to determine their roles, i.e. to elect its own parliament. Supporters of (Issa Kazduyev) are calling on the Ingush to hold elections on 8 December. Despite all its different factions, the Ingush national movement is united on one matter: The problem which has arisen in Checheno-Ingushetia must be resolved by strictly peaceful means.

Clashes Over Referendum Reported

LD0112232991 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 1 Dec 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] A RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY correspondent reports from Vladikavkaz that according to confirmed information, six people received gunshot wounds, some serious, as a result of armed clashes between supporters and opponents of holding a referendum on the formation of an Ingush republic. The shooting took place in the course of an hour at the Nazran Rayon Soviet building yesterday afternoon. By 0800 today, there were about 50 armed opponents of the referendum on the premises. They would not allow the local militia to inspect the building.

North Ossetian Guard To Defend Vladikavkaz

PM2711151391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2158 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Report by N. Ivanov and A. Letichevskiy from the "Television News Service" newscast]

[Text] Even veterans of the Great Patriotic War are coming to the assembly points of the republic guard that is now being formed in North Ossetia. According to the Ossetian side, this guard is needed for defense purposes in the event of an attack by the Ingush people on the suburbs of Vladikavkaz. Ossetians, Russians, and local inhabitants of other nationalities are joining the guard. But the North Ossetian KGB has its own version of Major Tolstenev's recent death in Groznyy. The stab wounds on the body of this KGB officer and the fact that his throat was slit—a typical Muslim way of killing people—all this, people here say, testifies to the fact that this was the premeditated murder of their colleague, and there is something else.

The recent clemency shown by General Dudayev leaving the Muscovites in peace has had a particular effect in North Ossetia. [sentence as heard] The Ossetians, who were used to Russian patronage, are now bewildered: Whether people are executed or shown mercy now depends on the decisions of representatives of other republics as applied to North Ossetia.

St Petersburg TUF on Price Liberalization

PM0212140591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Nov 91 p 1

[Report from PRAVDA, TASS, INTERFAX roundup under general heading "Rhythm of the Day"]

[Text] The St. Petersburg Trade Union Federation [TUF] has released an address to Russian President B. Yeltsin and City Mayor A. Sobchak which emphasizes the "negative consequences for interregional economic activity" ensuing from B. Yeltsin's statement on the price liberalization due to be implemented soon. The address notes that "spontaneous meetings have been held" in the city's labor collectives over the past few days, "at which the Russian leadership's policy has been sharply criticized." The TUF demands that the Russian leadership publish "without delay" information on the timing and the measures to be carried out within the framework of the economic reform and that it elaborate a program for combatting economic speculation.

St Petersburg's Mayor Appeals to G-7 for Food

OW2911004391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2124 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The mayor of St. Petersburg, Mr. Anatoliy Sobchak, has forwarded to the leaders of the G-7 countries a personal message asking them to provide massive humanitarian assistance in the form of foodstuffs to the St. Petersburg's region this winter. This was revealed by Mr. Sobchak himself during a briefing on Thursday [28 November].

Mr. Sobchak also sent a separate sessage to Mssrs. Gorbachev, Yeltsin and Silayev, urging them to ensure "that reasonable quotas of humanitarian food aid, which is provided to the centre, be assigned to St. Petersburg."

The mayor said that the city's authorities have so far signed no agreements on deliveries of food to the city from central and republican reserves, and have no guarantees from non-government suppliers about food deliveries for 1992.

Mr. Sobchak also said that the city's administartion is ready to implement reforms of the republic's government, but that they "should be accompanied by guaranteed availability to the population of a minimum of foodstuffs with stable state-regulated prices".

Sobchak on Control Over Soviet Nuclear Arsenal

LD0112131991 Moscow TASS in English 1230 GMT 1 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Batyrev]

[Text] Paris December 1 TASS—The question of keeping a single control over the Soviet nuclear arsenal is a major issue which should be decided upon at top level, both between the leaders of the republics of the former Soviet Union and those of Western countries, Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak of St. Petersburg told the French TF-1 television network in an interview broadcast on Saturday night.

Commenting on the budgetary-and-financial crisis in the country, he said the situation was extremely tense because the matter concerned millions of people who receive money from the state budget.

"I am very much gratified that common sense prevailed and that the presidents of the USSR and the Russian Federation reached accord. We now badly need Western food aid because the food situation is very difficult in all large cities of the country without exception, which is connected primarily with the disruption of traditional ties following the proclamation of republics' independence," Sobchak said.

Asked whether he would vote for Gorbachev in the event of a presidential election, Sobchak said he could not answer the question so far because it was unknown whether the Union would continue to exist and, consequently, whether a general election of a president of the union would be held. "I will decide whom I should vote for when all these matters are clarified," he said.

Tatarstan Adopts Law on Administrative Bodies

LD0112003291 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2327 GMT 29 Nov 91

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Supreme Soviet of Tatarstan adopted law November 29 on setting up executive-administrative bodies in the republic for the period of economic reforms. According to this law, President Mintimer Shamiyev of Tatarstan has the authority to issue edicts before December 31, 1992 and to issue orders concerning property relations, the management of the republican national economy, the budget-financial system, wages and price setting, strengthening law and order. The president also has the authority to appoint heads of administrations in the republican regions and cities.

The Narodovlastiye (People's Power) group spoke against this law. They were concerned about possible usurping of power by the president in the absence of permanently working parliament or an economic transformation program.

The session approved the new state flag of Tatarstan which represents two equal-size green-and-red stripes divided by a narrow white stripe. The flag has no emblem on it. It is now put up on the house of the government.

At the evening session of the Supreme Soviet the law on the referendum in Tatarstan and on property in Tatarstan were adopted. Both laws come into force immediately except the clause on private property on land, which is to be considered again in December this year. The seventh session of the Supreme Soviet of Tatarstan completed its work.

Passes Law on Referendums

OW0212000691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2143 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Friday [29 November] the Tatar parliament passed a law on referendums. There shall be no restrictions in suffrage for Tatar citizens on religious or political grounds, ethnic origin, time of residence and so on. The initiative of a referendum should come from at least 100,000 persons or one third of the MPs or the president. The decision to hold a referendum is passed by the parliament. If 180,000 signatures in support of a public vote are collected, parliament does not have the right to drop the issue, but should set the date, formulate the question and organize voting. Referendums shall be financed from the Tatar budget.

A referendum is considered valid, if at least 50 percent of registered voters take part, and its decision mandatory if half of those who cast their ballots support it.

THE NEW TATAR FLAG

The Tatar parliament also passed a law on the flag of Tatarstan. From now on it will be a green, white and red flag without any additional symbols. The new flag already flies above the parliament building.

Vologda Administrator Allowed To Free Wages

PM2711134591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Correspondent A. Solovyev report: "Vologda: Wages Freed Following Prices"]

[Text] Vologda—The Vologda Oblast administration has lifted restrictions on wages.

"We have outstripped the Russian Government," oblast administration head N. Podgornov said, commenting on the resolution on lifting restrictions on wages and consumption funds. The resolution was published 21 November but deemed to have come into force as of 18 November.

It was adopted hot on the heels of the increase in agricultural produce and vodka prices announced by IZVESTIYA (No. 276). The effective liberation of prices not only caused the people of Vologda to grumble with discontent but also to protest N. Podgornov immediately went to see the Russian president and won B. Yeltsin's support; on his return to Vologda he lifted the restrictions on wages. During the meeting with the president, the Vologda administration head announced at a press conference, the mayor of Moscow also proposed fully relaxing prices for the capital. He was dissuaded from doing this by fears that if the idea were put into effect it would denude food stores in oblasts around Moscow.

Other steps followed to provide the population with social protection. Food in kindergartens, boarding schools, and hospitals is being subsidized. Supplementary allowances have been introduced for school lunches (a minimum of R1.80 [rubles] and R2.5O are allocated for lunch and dinner respectively). Grants for higher educational establishment, technical college, and vocational and technical school students are being raised. Money has been earmarked to increase the wages of personnel in budget-based organizations and pensions.

No one is going to grow fat on the additional payments and wage supplements. The food stores are in a poor state. Not only the shelves but the food halls are empty—high prices have frightened away the customers. In raising purchase prices for meat and dairy produce, the administration expected local kolkhozes and sovkhozes to sense the benefit in selling their produce to Vologda's stores. Meanwhile up to 70 percent of this produce was going elsewhere at fabulous prices. For instance, dealers from Armenia paid R150-200 per kilogram of butter. Northern neighbors—customers from Arkhangelsk Oblast—paid almost as much. In order to halt the exodus of foodstuffs, the administration head has banned exports of foods outside the oblast. He threatens to fine infractors.

Producers have thus ended up between two stools. The second being their "foreign" partners, with whom they have already concluded contracts to supply food in exchange for the goods that the countryside needs. If they break the contract, they also pay a fine or, even worse, lose the business world's trust for breaching the laws of the market. What is to be done?

The administration head is urging peasants to be patriotic and to look not over the "hill" but in their own stores and be aware of their own townspeople's needs. The market will show whether commercial interest can be combined with patriotic loyalty.

Moldova

Topal Elected President of Gagauz Republic

LD0112234891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Text] Stepan Topal has been elected president of the Gagauz Republic. This preliminary information on the presidential elections held today in Gagauzia was reported to INTERFAX in Komrat by the Central Electoral Commission. About 90 percent of electors voted for Topal. Topal was formerly acting chairman of the Gagauz Republic Government and chairman of the Komrat Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies. He was the only candidate for the presidency of Gagauzia.

Also according to preliminary information, during the referendum, which was held together with the presidential elections, 87-88 percent of electors expressed themselves in favor of the independence of the Gagauz Republic in the political and economic Union of Sovereign States. Some 77 percent of residents in the five rayons of southern Moldova with the right to vote took part in the presidential elections and referendum in the Gagauz Republic.

Seventy-five percent of residents of Pridnestrovye taking part today in the republican referendum expressed themselves in favor of an independent cis-Dnester Moldovan Republic in the economic and political Union of Sovereign States.

This information was reported to INTERFAX at the Central Electoral Commission of the Pridnestrovye Republic. The results of the Pridnestrovye presidential elections will be known later. Votes are being counted.

Smirnov Elected President of Dnestr Republic

OW0212131591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1200 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] By a preliminary count the Dnestr Republic has elected its former Premier Igor Smirnov to be its president. As INTERFAX has been informed by the press-secretary of the Dnestr Supreme Soviet Valeriy Litskay, in the presidential election of Dec 1, I. Smirnov won 65.4% of the vote.

The other candidates—the chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet Grigoriy Marakutsu and the leader of the Democratic Party Gennadiy Blagodarniy—gained 33.4% and 1.2% respectively.

The simultaneous referendum on the question: "Are you for an independent Dnestr Moldovan Republic within a political and economic Union of Sovereign States?" has yielded a 98% positive vote.

V. Litskay reports that the republic's presidential election and referendum were attended by 77.9% of the 477,000-strong electorate.

The Dnestr Republic proclaimed in the autumn of last year in Moldova on the Dnestr's left bank has not been recognized by the Moldovan authorities.

Moldova will hold a presidential election Dec 8. The sole candidate is the encumbent Mircea Snegur.

Dnestr, Gagauz Elections Declared 'Illegal'

LD0112050491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0400 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Excerpt] As for the elections in the Dnestr Republic and Gagauziya, the parliament of Moldova declares them to be illegal. [passage omitted]

Dnestr Guard Actions Termed 'Illegal'

LD0112045991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 2200 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] A report we received last night says that members of the National Guard of the Dnestr Republic have set up checkpoints at the entrances to and exits from the town of Dubossary. A statement released by the press bureau of the Moldovan Interior Ministry and Ministry of National Security notes that these bodies consider these actions illegal.

Gagauz Polls Protected by Armed Detachments

LD0112110191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Text] We continue the news bulletin with a report from Kishinev. All buildings and installations of vital importance and polling stations in the Gagauz Republic are being protected by armed self-defense detachments, (Petr Zavrichko), chairman of the permanent commission for legislation and legality of the republican Supreme Soviet, revealed.

He explained the undertaking of such a precautionary measure on the eve of the presidential elections, which have already been declared unlawful and legally invalid by Kishinev, as a reaction to the fear of provocations. According to (Petr Zavrichko), the elections planned for 1 December will take place even if Gagauziya is to be subjected to an invasion of volunteers from Moldova, as was the case in autumn of last year.

Ukraine

Reportage Highlights Independence Referendum

'Overwhelming' Vote for Independence

LD0212023991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0200 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Excerpt] A referendum on the question of the independence of the republic has taken place in the Ukraine.

That event is the number one theme in the mass media of the republics of the former Soviet Union.

According to local reports, an overwhelming number of citizens of the Ukraine have come out in favor of the republic's independence. Final results of the referendum will be announced in the Ukrainian parliament today or tomorrow.

At the same time, the first presidential elections in the history of the Ukraine also took place. Kravchuk, chairman of the republic's parliament and one of the contenders for this post, expressed confidence that the people of the Ukraine will now become independent. As soon as that happens, he thinks, the United States, Canada and the European countries will recognize it. There is no doubt, Kravchuk stated, that Russia will also act in a democratic way and will recognize the Ukraine as an independent state.

Touching upon the question of the signing by the Ukraine of the new political treaty, Kravchuk said that the republic's Supreme Soviet will not enter into that. [passage omitted]

'90 Percent' Vote for Independence

LD0212120591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1140 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Viktor Demidenko]

[Excerpt] Kiev, 2 Dec (TASS)—The Ukraine has become an independent state. About 90 percent of those who took part in the voting yesterday voted in support of the act proclaiming the independence of the Ukraine. This was reported by Leonid Kravchuk, who was elected president of the Ukraine, at a meeting with official foreign observers at the all-Ukrainian referendum today. According to preliminary data, around 60 percent of the electorate voted for him. [passage omitted]

Further on Voting

LD0212103391 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] Ukrainian radio has reported early in the morning, with reference to a public opinion poll, 80 percent of Ukrainians voted in favor of their republic's complete independence during yesterday's referendum. According to representatives of the electorate commission, 83.8 percent of all eligible voters took part in the referendum, which was held simultaneously with the first presidential election.

The chairman of the current Ukrainian parliament, former Communist ideologist, and supporter of market reforms, Leonid Kravchuk, is reported to have outpolled other candidates, taking no less than 50 percent of the votes. Both the referendum and the elections were supervised by observers from the United States, Canada, and other countries.

Crimean Voting Figures Cited

LD0212121291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] A correspondent of the INTERFAX news agency has reported that, according to preliminary data, 54.2 percent of the Crimean residents who took part in the all-Ukrainian referendum voted for independence of the Ukraine. Meanwhile, only 36 percent of Simferopol's eligible voters favored independence.

Second Round Likely

LD0112214291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Excerpts] Here is a report sent in by telephone from Kiev by Ludmila Shevtsova, member of the Ukrainian community in Lithuania.

[Shevtsova] I am in Kiev at the moment. The results of the referendum at 1600 have been announced: 75.6 percent of voters have voted, which is 25,478,025 people. Most of the voters voted for an independent Ukraine. In the Crimea, 58.8 percent, and in Sevastopol 51 percent of voters have voted. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] According to a report from the Rukh Press Center in Kiev, at 1700 about 75 percent of voters had already voted. It is believed that more than 80 percent will vote for independence.

It is interesting to note that up to 90 percent of voters at most military units voted for an independent Ukraine. However, there have been irregularities as well—for example, the leadership of the tank division deployed near Desna took the voting papers, filled them in themselves, and cast them into the ballot box; soldiers were not allowed to vote.

Leonid Kravchuk is in the lead in the presidential elections; however, it is unlikely that he will receive the needed amount of votes today—which is 50 percent plus one. Most likely, on 15 December the second round of presidential elections will be held.

The results of the presidential elections and the referendum are expected tomorrow.

'Strong-Arm Pressure' by Gorbachev, Yeltsin

PM0212101191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Dec 91 Union Edition p 1

[UKRINFORM-TASS report: "Ukraine Votes for Independence, But Gorbachev Does Not Consider This an Act of Rupture With Union. By 1200 More Than Half the Republic's Inhabitants Had Come to Polling Stations"]

[Excerpts] More than 34,000 polling stations opened in the Ukraine at precisely 0700 on 1 December. The nationwide referendum will give the answer to this question: "Do you confirm the act of proclaiming the

Ukraine's independence?" The Ukrainian president is being elected at the same time. [passage omitted]

I am sure, Leonid Kravchuk told journalists at the polling station, that the people of the Ukraine will become independent today. And as soon as this happens, the Ukraine will be recognized by the United States, Canada, and European countries. There is no doubt that Russia, too, will act democratically and recognize the Ukraine as an independent state. Touching on the question of the Ukraine's signing the new political treaty, Leonid Kravchuk declared: The republic Supreme Soviet will not do that.

The chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet criticized the stance of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who are exerting strong-arm pressure by declaring that the Ukraine cannot be an independent state. The head of the Ukrainian parliament mentioned that only the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet can speak on behalf of the people of the Ukraine and the chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet on behalf of the parliament.

The Ukraine intends to participate only in economic cooperation with the republics of the former USSR and with foreign countries. There can be no question of the center's influence on the life of our state. As for Russia, I do not believe that its parliament can venture on the creation of a new empire.

Statements to the effect that the Ukraine will perish without participating in Union structures are groundless, Leonid Kravchuk said. Its economic potential attests to something different: The majority of the republic's national economic sectors not only meet their own needs, but also supply quite a lot of output outside the Ukraine.

Yeltsin, Gorbachev Criticized

LD0112232691 Kiev Radio Kiev in English
2200 GMT 1 Dec 91

["Ukraine Today" unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] Today an all-Ukrainian referendum on the act on Ukraine's independence and presidential elections were held in this republic. We want to be a strong, free, peace-loving, and rich nation. The main condition for this should be our independence—in other words, we have to be rid of totalitarianism and enter the European and world community as a democratic and legal state.

During the current struggle of Ukraine for its independence, the center, by unleashing an anti-Ukrainian campaign (?like dead-against) independent Baltic republics, tries to prove that Ukraine will not survive without the Union. But the (?facts prove) that Ukraine is a very highly developed republic. [passage omitted]

By the way, the stance of the leaders of the former Union and its republics concerning the possibilities of obtaining independence by Ukraine is quite ambiguous. In this connection the stand of Russia cannot but evoke surprise. Only recently it signed a number of bilateral agreements with Ukraine. Democratic Ukraine supported Yeltsin in his struggle against the conspirators during the August abortive coup in Moscow. But now Boris Yeltsin repeats Gorbachev's words to the effect that he cannot imagine the Union without the Ukraine.

Mikhail Gorbachev's latest statement that he will not regard the will of the citizens of Ukraine expressed in the referendum as an act of Ukraine's secession from the Union—this statement is unprecedented in itself because it seems that the Union leader does not understand that fresh statements are nothing but interference into the course of all-Ukrainian referendum.

However, Ukraine will become an independent state. This is a reality of life. And Gorbachev is unable to change the course of history. According to the public opinion poll the overwhelming majority of people in Ukraine, that is up to 80 percent, come out for the republic's independence.

Gorbachev Protest Seen as 'Interference'

PM0212101891 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Article by Andrey Ostalskiy: "Soviet-American Tiff Over Ukrainian Referendum"]

[Text] Why, for the first time since the August putsch, did Mikhail Gorbachev need to resort to "public diplomacy" and upbraid George Bush in an announcement by our president's press service? It is hard to find a rational explanation for this act, although we are dealing, of course, with a very serious and painful problem: the possibility of the creation of an independent Ukrainian state and the separation of the Ukraine and Russia—an event which, understandly, would sadden many. But our president's action is even more bewildering.

Let me remind you that on 27 November an anonymous spokesman for the U.S. Administration told journalists that the United States "will start moving in the direction of recognizing the Ukrainian republic if its population, as expected, votes on 1 December for independence from the Soviet Union." The leaders of American Ukrainians, whom Bush received that same day, confirmed this information after the White House meeting. But they explained that the U.S. President had not promised them "immediate recognition" of Kiev's independence.

This was preceded by reports that there were differences of opinion in the U.S. Administration over the problem. Literally the day before, citing official sources, REUTER had reported that the United States firmly intended to "raise the level" of its dialogue with the Ukraine, a wealthy republic possessing nuclear weapons, after a Sunday vote for independence, but would not go for direct recognition." According to many other sources, REUTER in this case had formulated the position of Bush and his entourage very accurately.

Does what has happened mean that his position has radically changed? Obviously we cannot say so with confidence until there is official confirmation of such a change, as distinct from statements by anonymous sources and American Ukrainians. But even if that is the case, then, clearly, we can only say that it is the Bush administration displaying its usual political realism. Indeed, for the United States, the disintegration of the "former USSR" and, perhaps, in particular, the Ukraine becoming an independent state with nuclear weapons, is another headache, and a very bad one. It is bound to be followed by a very significant redrawing of the map of Europe and the world, the shifting of "poles of power," destabilization, and the complication of world politics in general. It is far more comfortable dealing with a proven, predictable Gorbachev as head of a unified state and, most important, one that is friendly toward America. But there is no way out: Ukrainian independence—whether people like it or not—is about to become a reality. Gorbachev has neither the power nor the opportunity to prevent it.

We might agree that the statements by anonymous sources in the administration contain an element of "tactlessness," an element of "interference in the course of the upcoming referendum." Perhaps. But should we take such serious diplomatic action in this case?

I have no idea which of our president's aides suggested it to him or, in particular, who carried it out, but the result was obviously the opposite of what they intended. Even if the reports coming from Washington had done some (hardly significant) damage, public denunciation of these reports as "bewildering... considering the present level of relations between our countries," merely gave them added official weight. But there is something else that is important. Such pronouncements on the eve of a referendum are in themselves interference in the course of the referendum, with the result we are familiar with. In view of the experience of the anti-Yeltsin and other similar campaigns, we can be sure that such statements will do more to provide extra votes for the supporters of Ukrainian independence than vague pronouncements by "sources close to the White House."

But the main thing is that whatever Bush may be up to at this time and whatever Gorbachev does, they are not going to change anything. According to the public opinion polls, the vast majority—around 80 percent—of Ukrainian citizens have firmly opted for independence.

Republic Wants To Participate in CSCE Talks

OW0112083991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2026 GMT 29 Nov 91

["Diplomatic Panorama" feature from reports by diplomatic correspondents Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev: "The Ukraine Lays a Claim To Being an Independent Subject of International Law"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Ukraine has expressed support for the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe signed by the USSR and other participants in the Helsinki process. But the statement to this effect made by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the republic makes it clear that in future the Ukraine expects to take direct part in negotiations on control over conventional armaments and in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE].

The document also states that, as one of the former parts of the USSR, the Ukraine deems it necessary to observe all the requirements of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces which apply to all forces stationed on its territory, including the provisions for inspection procedures. "The treaty does apply to the Ukrainian armed forces," the statement emphasises.

Some experts believe the Ukraine thereby confirms its intention to possess its own armed forces and subsequently act on the world arena on its own, without pooling efforts with any of the other sovereign republics. The statement refers to the Ukrainian armed forces as something which already exists. This contradicts the State Council decisions to the effect that the republics forming the USSR should have joint armed forces and constitute a single strategic area.

According to information received from the USSR Presidential staff on November 28, Mikhail Gorbachev is very worried by the USA's apparent readiness to recognise the independence of the Ukraine if it gets a majority vote during the referendum next Sunday [1 December]. But, since nobody in the Ukraine or elsewhere has any doubts that this is what will happen, the Ukraine is laying a claim to being an independent subject of international law even now.

Romania Refuses To Recognize Independence

OW0112054791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1650 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Thursday [28 November] the Romanian Senate declared that it will not recognize the results of the Sunday [1 December] referendum on Ukrainian independence in territories that used to belong to Romania. A resolution on the issue says that "North Bukovina and South Bessarabia are primordial Romanian lands and Romania wishes to begin talks with the authorities in Kiev for the triumph of historical justice".

The leader of the Moldovan Popular Front, the former Moldovan Prime Minister Mircea Druk told the senate that "this is the first notable step to the unification of all Romanian territories" and that a sufficient share of the Moldovans support it.

At a news conference after that Druk sharply criticised the official leadership of his republic for working for the independence of a non-existent state and organizing the elections of the president of this state.

Druk asked the Romanian authorities to help the Moldovan opposition in the person of the Popular Front attain its goal of uniting Moldova and Romania.

Foreign Ministry Rejects Romanian Claims

LD3011025491 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2200 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] The Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine rejected the territorial claims to our republic on the part of Romania. The parliament of this Republic adopted a statement on not recognizing the results of the all-Ukrainian referendum in certain regions of Ukraine. This includes Bukovina and part of Bessarabia.

In the view of the Romanian parliamentarians, these territories were forcibly torn away by the Soviet Union from this country at the end of World War II. The Ukraine's foreign minister declared that these lands have from times of yore been settled by Ukrainians. Such territorial claims are groundless because the inviolability of postwar interstate borders was recognized by the 1975 all-European conference.

Canadian, U.S. Recognition Expected

LD0112185391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 30 Nov 91

["Television News Service" report by presenter Boris Kostenko, including recorded remarks by Ukrainian Foreign Minister A.M. Zlenko; date and place not given]

[Text] [Kostenko] Leonid Kravchuk has given an interview to the Canadian telegraph agency in which he declares that he expects Canada to grant recognition of the Ukraine's independence. Canada, with its Ukrainian community of many millions, will be one of the first to do that, Kravchuk hopes. Meanwhile, Canada has bought a building and land for $3.5 million in Kiev, thus becoming the first Western power to acquire land in the capital of the Ukraine.

The Canadian Government has maintained on more than one occasion that it will recognize the independence of the Ukraine if a majority of the population adopts such a position in the referendum.

U.S. President George Bush has intimated that Washington has not rejected the policy of supporting the Central Government in the Soviet Union. The policy is stable and is under control. Bush also stated that there will not be a big split between Washington and Moscow if, in connection with the U.S. intention to proceed with diplomatic recognition of the Ukraine, most of those who take part in tomorrow's referendum vote for independence.

Commenting on Bush's remarks, ASSOCIATED PRESS considers that they were occasioned by the wish to soften the evident disagreement with the Soviet president over Washington's planned recognition of the Ukraine's independence.

[Zlenko] Our contacts with the American side, including at the level of the leadership of the two states, have recently developed and begun to shape up in a pragmatic way. It is very pleasant for us to note that the U.S. Administration and President Bush personally have altered—have abruptly, I would say, altered—their position toward our republic and others. I would like to say that the relations which are taking shape today are creating the necessary preconditions as well as the international legal basis so that, in the nearest time, we may fully establish diplomatic relations and exchange missions.

IZVESTIYA Ponders Election Repercussions

PM2911105391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Nov 91 Union Edition p 4

[V. Nadein article: "Ukrainian Independence: New Political Reality to Which World Is Growing Accustomed"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev's forecast that after the elections the Ukraine would invariably join the Union of Sovereign States may reflect the president's true hopes, but by no means the real outlook. The world outside Moscow has plenty of doubts on this score.

Governments are tackling different problems. Whether to immediately recognize the new power, one of Europe's largest, or wait a while? And if they wait a while, how long should that be? Until President Gorbachev recognizes a fait accompli? Or is a signal of approval from Yeltsin's Russia all that is needed? Should recognition be linked to pledges from Kiev to immediately embark on nuclear disarmament? And when should aid be provided for the Ukraine with its better food supply and how? And to go on: What proportion of the food previously allocated to the former Soviet Union should be transferred to the banks of the Dnepr?

"The day that the Soviet Union will perish is 1 December," THE LOS ANGELES TIMES quotes a high-ranking U.S. State Department specialist. "This will be the greatest event since the fall of the Berlin Wall... It is approaching inevitably—and we aren't ready for it."

President Bush has been seriously criticized at home for what he said during his visit to Kiev this summer. Although he was speaking about the costs that rabid nationalism entail, his statements were regarded by many people as effectively warning Kiev not to stray too far from the Kremlin's influence.

Despite this criticism, the U.S. President quite recently in Madrid once again voiced the wish that the "republics were really with the center."

Needless to say, it is not only his unchanging, touching loyalty to M. Gorbachev that is shaping Bush's policy on the Ukraine. It is based on 30,000 nuclear warheads, the formidable property of the dying USSR that is being inherited in a totally incomprehensible way by four (it seems to be four) republics, the Ukraine included.

But even if all these weapons are removed from the Ukraine, it will still know the art of producing nuclear weapons in Kharkov, missiles in Dnepropetrovsk, or aircraft carriers in Nikolayev.

No one in the world knows how soon the Ukraine will remember its grain growers' skill that brought Canada fame. Just as no one knows whether it will ever forget the secrets of nuclear handiwork. Will it want to? Will it be able to? Will its former enemies and former friends allow it to?

Polish President Lech Walesa, speaking at the first session of the recently elected Sejm, hastened to dispel the doubts. He said: "Our neighbors in the east have in Poland a friendly, open neighbor, who understands their efforts to develop democracy and sovereignty. This applies equally to Kiev, Minsk, Vilnius, and Moscow. This is our state's constant policy and one that we have proclaimed on numerous occasions."

Everything is not so clear as regards the policy of the Ukraine's other mighty neighbor—the Union of Sovereign States. Or—which is still more trustworthy for analysis purposes—Russia.

According to U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, the U.S. Administration is reacting with increasing alarm to the possibility of an outbreak of open violence in relations between the USSR and the Ukraine. "Administration officials have said that Russian President Boris Yeltsin has already appealed personally to President Bush, asking him to do everything he can to avert the secession of the Ukraine," the journal writes. "Bush's advisers are increasingly worried by the concentration of Soviet troop subunits in key areas, including the Ukrainian capital, Kiev."

Soviet sources do not confirm these misgivings, but only insofar as the exclusively military reaction to the coming elections is concerned. RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Foreign Minister Kozyrev has just spoken to President Bush about it. Even people in Yugoslavia, rent by civil war, are voicing disquiet at the development of events, above all Russian-Ukrainian relations. Belgrade's VECERNJE NOVOSTI reckons that the Ukraine's refusal to join the new political union may have grave consequences, because the "republic's Russian population may take the same road as the Serbs living in Croatia."

Was that what M.S. Gorbachev had in mind when he said in an interview with U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT that the Ukraine's total secession from the Union would mean great problems for the Union, but even greater problems or even a catastrophe for the republic itself? It's hard to say. There is no concrete evidence in the interview. The president's idea that the right to self-determination must be exercised not via separatism and dissociation but via an "in-depth redistribution of power" sounds too general to the Ukrainians. And isn't what we are all experiencing now together a catastrophe?

It is not at all certain that the White House approach to the results of the 1 December vote will determine how other countries will react. Although everyone will look to Moscow, by no means everyone will think it necessary to follow it. What is more, we must not rule out the possibility of Washington itself reacting keenly and being among the first to officially recognize the new contours of a rapidly changing Europe.

Kravchuk Expresses Views on Republic Issues

On Independence, Borders

AU3011202891 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 30 Nov-1 Dec 91 p 3

[Article by Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine: "Border Corrections Would Be the Worst Thing"]

[Text] Kiev—We do not expect our striving for independence to meet with a warm and enthusiastic response. It is clear that the central authority in Moscow is not pleased with the steps that the Ukraine and other republics have taken to become independent states.

This does not mean that we will stop our efforts. We must create the legal basis for our new status and work within this framework to find new ways of cooperation. We will not, however, exclusively act on the basis of the interests of the Ukraine.

This is necessary because the Ukraine has never been a sovereign state before. Neither the Ukraine nor its leaders ever actually controlled the state in the past. In the past, Ukrainian leaders only controlled about 6 or 7 percent of the republic's industrial production and its assets.

Once the Ukraine achieves full independence, we will develop completely independent and new policies. This includes the creation of a market, privatization, reduction of the state sector, introduction of our own currency, and development of our own armed forces.

Currently we are adopting laws that will establish the basis for a Ukrainian army. We have also appealed to our soldiers to serve on Ukraine territory.

On 4 November, the Ukrainian parliament agreed to place the border protection forces under Ukrainian control and approved the formation of a National Guard from troops of the Interior Ministry.

The Ukraine also adopted a law stipulating the indivisibility of Ukrainian territory. Irrespective of certain statements by Russian leaders, we have no intention of ceding the Crimea or any part of our country to anyone.

It is easy to prove the legitimacy of our claim. As a matter of fact, under Nikita Khrushchev, the Crimea was transferred from Russian to Ukrainian jurisdiction as an autonomous territorial unit.

Earlier, 150 years ago, the Crimea was primarily inhabited by ethnic Ukrainians. In 1949, the Tatar population of the Crimea was deported to Siberia under Josef Stalin and new settlers were brought to the peninsula. Later, the ethnic composition of the population in the Crimea changed, and the Russians are now a majority among the population living there.

This cannot mean, however, that the borders must be redrawn whenever the ethnic composition of the population changes.

Discussions about border corrections and the reemergence of territorial claims are the worst things that can happen to us. These things have always led to war and destruction. Let us just remember what happened when Iraq tried to forcibly change borders by invading Kuwait.

I can see no possibility of reviving the issue concerning Russian-Ukrainian borders. If such claims should be raised, we will address the UN Security Council and ask it to deal with the question because we are a member of the United Nations.

Against this backdrop, I would also like to stress that I do not consider the territorial problems to be permanent issues. Our relationship with Russia is very important. Russia is a powerful neighbor. We are both Slavs, and we cannot quarrel just because some leader makes a thoughtless statement.

Those who advocate democracy in Russia and the Ukraine are obliged to promote normal and friendly relations. If problems occur, we should try to solve them in talks at the roundtable.

In international relations, the Ukraine must claim its place in Europe, participate fully in the United Nations, and strive for a new relationship with the other republics of the former Soviet Union.

The Ukraine does not want to participate in a political union with the former USSR, whose aim is a central government structure. We may take part in political alliances, in economic union, but only if this does not affect our state interests. We will behave like other independent countries that observe agreements on political union, but without giving up our sovereignty.

During a transitional phase after achieving independence, collective defense might become necessary in which the strategic nuclear forces are controlled jointly by the republics that possess nuclear weapons.

It is clear that the agreement on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons, which has been adopted by the United States and the USSR, should be ratified and implemented. As a result of this agreement, 130 silos on Ukrainian territory will be destroyed.

There is no doubt that this is one of the most significant achievements. It is not sufficient, however. I believe that we must conclude a comprehensive agreement that completely eliminates all strategic and tactical nuclear weapons.

We must not allow the emergence of a military or a political imbalance. Such a situation might have a negative impact on the disarmament process.

In my view, all powers possessing nuclear weapons should participate in the disarmament process. As a nuclear power, the Ukraine must be involved in all discussions dealing with nuclear weapons. Because our population suffered a great deal from the Chernobyl accident, the Ukraine has a moral right to play a leading role in this process.

On Union, Other Topics

PM2811113991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 91 Union Edition pp 1, 3

[Interview with Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk by N. Bodnaruk: "Leonid Kravchuk: Leader Must Submit to People's Choice"]

[Text] In a few days' time, on 1 December, the election of the first president of the Ukraine and a referendum on independence will take place. This event has attracted the attention of a vast number of foreign correspondents, who have flown to Kiev. In an effort to satisfy their professional interest, the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry is organizing a meeting for them 29 November with all the presidential candidates, each of whom will answer questions for an hour. There are now six candidates. A. Tkachenko, a state minister, dropped out 25 November and called on his supporters to vote for L. Kravchuk. If you believe the polls, he is the most likely contender, so his position is attracting special attention.

[Bodnaruk] Leonid Makarovich, I want to begin our conversation with a question that is bothering a great many people at the moment. Moscow has become increasingly worried of late about what is happening in the Ukraine. Are you aware of this, and how do you explain it?

[Kravchuk] I am aware of it, of course. I am also aware of the purposeful actions by politicians of a certain type and very alarming trends at the ordinary, everyday level. Recently, unable to bear it any longer, I was compelled to appear on Central Television. When you see Central Television trying to turn Shevchenko into someone who did not like Russians, you wonder: What is this? Ignorance? Or malice? What about the following ploy: The word "Muscovite [moskal]," which appears so often in the poet's work, is identified with the word "Russian." But to this day in the Ukraine they say "joined the

Muscovites [poshel v moskali]." That is, became a soldier, joined the army. If that kind of thing is heard on television, is it surprising that people in the street are already saying that the Ukrainians have been hostile towards the Russians from time immemorial.

In the present situation it is very easy to provoke ethnic hostility at the everyday level. Formerly Russia, like a mother hen, would hide its brood under its wings, giving what help it could, not really bothered about itself. But now that the situation in Russia is really difficult and grievances are growing and being encouraged to grow, they are left in the lurch. The old stereotype is brought out: The Ukraine is a rich republic, it has everything; they used to share it with everyone else, but now the so-and-sos do not want to; they get fat and give us nothing. Stand in line in Kiev and go to other cities—you will see for yourselves how Ukrainians are "getting fat." It is bad for everyone at the moment, and if we start kindling emotions and adding fuel to the fire by providing one-sided and even false information, if we allow unscrupulous people to seek the roots of our common problems in history, in ethnic characteristics, we are simply doomed.

[Bodnaruk] Isn't the worry caused by the political course you have been conducting of late? For instance, you have not been seen in Moscow for a long time...

[Kravchuk] What do you mean? I was in Moscow recently for the signing of the treaty with Russia.

[Bodnaruk] What I mean is something else. You do not participate in the Novo-Ogarevo talks or any other talks with the center. Some observers put this down to your fear that it might harm your presidential chances and hope that you will be more active, positive, and even obliging if you win the election.

[Kravchuk] There is no connection. I do not believe in this venture. Why don't we examine the essentials and not the attendant circumstances. The first document we created in Novo-Ogarevo was called the Treaty on the Union of Sovereign States. The document's name did not match its content. Read all the treaty's articles and you will see that at best it can only apply to one-half of the sovereign states.

[Bodnaruk] But now the talk is of a confederative state.

[Kravchuk] Yes, now they say, let us create a confederation. Then, after a comma, they add: But we want a unified state. How so? A confederation and a unified state are incompatible, mutually exclusive things. When are we going to stop deceiving our own peoples? Half-measures, uncertainty, things unsaid, endless efforts to avoid awkward problems—how long can this go on? The people are exhausted and they are asking: No matter how hard and unpleasant the truth is, tell it. Tell us plainly and clearly that the document indicates that we are again going to have a unified, centralized state. With fewer powers, perhaps, with fewer rights. But not a confederation. I will not be a party to this deception.

[Bodnaruk] In that case, how do you explain all this? Malice on M. Gorbachev's part? A sincere error on his part? Or a desire to hold on to one-sixth of the world's land area as a unified whole at all costs?

[Bodnaruk] I can only guess, because I did not get an answer to my direct question. At the very start of the Novo-Ogarevo process I asked M. Gorbachev: What are we creating? A Union of Sovereign States, came the reply. A. Lukyanov was sitting on the other side. "No," he said," "only a federation." I asked Mikhail Sergeyevich: Is there a difference between what you say and what Lukyanov is insisting on? "There is." If there is, then why do you both agree with the treaty text though you hold such different views?

The answer is obvious—because the text was created to suit all contingencies. That form can incorporate any content. There are no guarantees that the center will not usurp power again, bring everything to heel again. Finally, the 1922 Union Treaty was not so bad, but what was the end result?

[Bodnaruk] How do you explain M. Gorbachev's position?

[Kravchuk] He was guided more by the fear that the enormous problems facing multinational peoples cannot be solved without a unified state. He is not alone in this: There are very many people who believe that horizontal links will disintegrate and will not work without a common "core."

[Bodnaruk] You disagree?

[Kravchuk] Confederative states can create a coordinating body—there is your "core." But then the power structures, including presidential ones, are created on different principles—a general election is not necessary, the coordinating center includes representatives of states and so on. You do not have to invent anything—you have the example of the European Community. But they do not even want to consider going in that direction.

[Bodnaruk] OK, fine, but how do you explain the fact that B. Yeltsin agreed to sign? You could not exactly accuse him of being sympathetic toward the center.

[Kravchhuk] I can understand Yeltsin. To some extent he identifies Russia with the Union. It is a psychological factor, if you like. From childhood we have all absorbed the ideas fed to us from "on high" about the world order, including that about the "elder brother." I believe that B. Yeltsin assumes that Russia will continue to be the center, like the sun, around which the other planets called states will revolve. But we know from the past that if there are sunspots and the sun suddenly fades, the light will not reach us, on the outskirts.

Once again I want to say that these are my personal opinions, and I could be wrong. After meetings with Boris Nikolayevich and very frank conversations, I am convinced that the Russian president is very well disposed toward the Ukrainian people. Well disposed and sincere. That is a good sign, substantial grounds for hoping that together we will be able to untie even the tightest knots.

[Bodnaruk] There is another aspect to the same problem: Foreign diplomats and journalists working in Moscow are plainly worried too. It seems like a paradox. They spent so much time seeking the downfall of the "empire of evil," then, would you believe it, when the collapse begins, there is dire anxiety. Is it unfounded?

[Kravchuk] You are right, there is anxiety, and there are reasons for it. My meetings with the leaders of certain Western countries have been an eye-opener. On the one hand, they do not conceal their sympathy for the Ukrainian people's desire for independence. On the other hand, they fear disastrous consequences, they fear another Yugoslavia, they are worried by the prospect of the appearance of dozens of independent states on the territory of the former Union, which could upset the established strategic and geopolitical balance. They fear the prospect of loss of control over nuclear weapons and much else—it is no joke, the map of Europe is changing. But what bothers them most of all is that the collapse is too rapid.

[Bodnaruk] Is there a force, are there leaders capable of slowing down this process somehow?

[Kravchuk] No. Even if there were a very authoritative leader acknowledged by the whole people, he would not be able to do that. Imagine the ideal situation: Everyone supports Kravchuk in the Ukraine. Now if in the present sociopolitical circumstances I suddenly did an about-turn and said: Citizens, we were heading in the wrong direction, we must stop—I don't think I would last a day as head of state.

[Bodnaruk] So the question is: To what extent are you a leader and to what extent are you led? Many of those who believe that the Ukraine has gone too far in its movement toward independence accuse you of just that, calling you an irresponsible politician. Others believe that you had no choice, in fact. What is the truth?

[Kravchuk] I have often heard Mikhail Sergeyevich say: If you tell the people openly that this and that will happen, the people will support you. My answer to that is: How many times have you openly told the people of your intentions and they have supported you? And how can you expect support if what a politician says does not meet the people's interests?

What is happening in the Ukraine is not someone's evil design, but a process in which millions of people are participating. You cannot destroy the desire to be master in your own land. It is universal! It is indestructible by its very nature, because it is in people's genes. But on top of everything else we are faced with the terrible practices of the totalitarian regime, which led the country to disaster. The desire for independence is not people's blind faith in a miracle, but a hope that their state will be closer to them and will protect their interests. They say: If we had had our own state, would it have built the Chernobyl nuclear power station near Kiev? Never! It would have made other mistakes, perhaps, but not that one, a mistake that cannot be remedied. And it would never have created this monster: a monolithic, immovable industry. Coal seams scraped clean... Metallurgical industry resources exhausted... Why did the state do that? Because it had given up on the Donbass, just as it once discarded unpromising villages, and had started investing in new construction, in this case in Cherepovets. Now people are shouting: Look how Russia has treated us! But it is not Russia, it is the monstrous logic that guides the totalitarian regime, it is the all-consuming monster that recognizes neither kith nor kin. So one should not be surprised or horrified when the people of a particular republic say: That's enough, we will build our own state. It is their choice, their legitimate right. And a politician, if he wants to reflect the people's interests, must submit to that choice.

[Bodnaruk] Well, what is your influence on processes as a politician?

[Kravchuk] I do not stimulate them. I have never adopted either extreme left-wing or extreme right-wing positions. It is my job to consider the interests of different groups of the population and social strata and implement the transformation by peaceful means. You cannot permit a polarization of forces along ethnic lines, no way. So far, as you can see, an undesirable development of events in the Ukraine has been avoided.

[Bodnaruk] What is your position on questions of the creation of a single economic area?

[Kravchuk] By single economic area, I mean mutually advantageous trade and cooperation with the other sovereign states. But I do not support the idea of a single market, where absolutely everything is standardized and the same—money, prices... As I see it, a single economic area would involve many markets.

I also support the principle of a single strategic military area, but I have not yet obtained the Supreme Soviet's full support on that either. They cry out: We need an army of 450,000 men! I am categorically against that. I believe that strategic forces should be under unified collective command, with a single Defense Ministry and General Staff. We do not need the nuclear button. We do not intend to elaborate our own military doctrine, strategy, and armaments either. Our involvement will be confined to monitoring what is happening on our own territory. Given that blueprint, the purely Ukrainian forces would number 90,000 men or fewer.

[Bodnaruk] What kind of forces?

[Kravchuk] A national guard, which will be used only in the event of riots and other nonstrategic categories of troops. At present there are 1.3 million servicemen on the territory of the Ukraine. Experts have told me that 90 percent of the numbers are normally accounted for by strategic troops, not by general forces. If our blueprint is implemented, the figure could be restricted to 600,000.

[Bodnaruk] The nuclear weapons situation is very unclear—one minute the Ukraine declares itself a nuclear-free zone, the next minute it lays claim to nuclear weapons...

[Kravchuk] If we are going to be living in a single strategic military area, then let everything remain as it is, otherwise our role will reduced to nothing—only the area will remain. I am against moving nuclear weapons from territory to territory. We do not intend to strip naked, so to speak, and calmly watch our neighbors build up their arsenals. Nothing of the sort. We are prepared to turn the Ukraine into a nuclear-free state, but this goal can be attained only through a treaty process involving all the states that possess nuclear weapons.

[Bodnaruk] It is not only your fate—whether you become the first president of the Ukraine or not—that will be decided on 1 December, but the fate of the state. Let us suppose 60 percent of the population votes for independence in the referendum. But the other 40 percent is millions of people who still have their own opinion. What about those who, having lost, could be carriers of future conflicts?

[Kravchuk] I would like the figure to be over 80 percent. I am not expecting the full 100 percent, that is impossible—there are very strong structures that are experiencing nostalgia for the good old days, as they see them. They are sowing doubts, trying to frighten people—it is not that difficult, because many people simply do not understand the essence of what is happening. They were getting along fine, then look what happens—after independence, they are told, borders will be closed and a visa system will be introduced... In short people are playing on their fears.

Future disasters (or, on the other hand, accord) will depend on how things go after the referendum. If the situation is stabilized first and then living conditions are improved a little at least, and if people realize that the free state is dealing with their vital concerns, we will also have the support of those who voted against independence. I do not rule out the possibility of some kind of attacks, attempted economic and political pressure from outside, which would lead to unpredictable consequences. We would not be responsible for such a development of events, even politically.

[Bodnaruk] Leonid Makarovich, what do you expect from Moscow? From state figures, leaders of political parties, and public organization...

[Kravchuk] That they should try to understand us. Alas, many Moscow politicians still do not understand us. Probably because they do not live here. Although they have realized that they cannot bang their fist and demand that their people do as they wish. But for some reason they think that, at the other level, lower down, the leaders of other peoples are less able to do that; there is one snag—they do not want to. They tried to wave a fist at a small people: the Chechens. What happened? What was the result? Do you run a greater risk? The result is predictable. The national revival process is so powerful that there is no force capable of taming it. Strike a match and everyone could go up together. It cannot be stopped in a peaceful, civilized manner.

[Bodnaruk] It is hard to say whether the Ukraine will become rich by acquiring independence. But will it be democratic?

[Kravchuk] Only the people themselves can provide the guarantee. And the law. I believe that we will succeed in adopting a democratic constitution and Law on Building State Power. The people are now electing a president, but the question of what kind of power there will be at local level and how it will be elected and function remains unanswered. I believe that the constitution and the law will render the country's return to a totalitarian regime impossible.

[Bodnaruk] What kind of Ukraine do you envisage in the near future? The ideal development of events and the most undesirable development.

[Kravchuk] I do not believe in the ideal. I expect problems. Let us suppose I win. Not everyone will accept the outcome of the election. So the political forces that lose will become the opposition. Will they be able to operate by democratic means or, will they head for confrontation, exploiting the difficulties of the transition to the market? I believe that the first president's mission will be to take all the knocks and keep hold of the situation. He will pave the way for others. Circumstances will show whether he carries this step through. And how long he manages to hold out will also depend on the circumstances. It will be a hard road.

On Treaties, Russia, Future

PM2711144191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Nov 91 First Edition p 1,2

[Report by HOLOS UKRAINY journalist Vladimir Skachko and ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA special correspondent Pavel Anokhin on news conference held "recently in Kiev" by Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman L. Kravchuk, under the "Topical Interview" rubric: "Leonid Kravchuk: 'The People of the Ukraine Are Mature Enough for Independence'"—italicized passages are journalists' narrative]

[Text] *The Ukraine's accession to the Economic Community Treaty is the main topic for discussion and debate in the republic today: Some approve, while others voice sharp condemnation. Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk held a news conference for journalists recently in Kiev, which was devoted to this event.*

The Economic Community Treaty

Referring to this treaty, the head of the Ukraine asked that the guiding force should be factual matters and juridical and legal aspects.

[Kravchuk] First, nothing has been signed. The treaty was only initialed. That is, on the Supreme Soviet's instructions, the prime minister initialed it and consented to the Ukraine's participation in the treaty process. But the juridical element or the element of responsibility for honoring this agreement will emerge only when the treaty has been ratified by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet and the supreme soviets of all states which are parties to this document.

Second, the document will be submitted for ratification complete with all supplements. And it will have 25 or maybe 26 supplements. For example, there are appendixes on the banking, finance, customs, credit, tax, and monetary systems and much else, which will require a truly lengthy period of coordination.

We will oppose—and do oppose—the creation of any central organs. We will not sign or ratify any agreement backed by central organs of any magnitude. The central organs have burned themselves out.

We are in favor of an opportunity to cooperate with the republics or some of the republics. There could be four or five of them, perhaps three, perhaps only two—the Ukraine and Russia for example. They may be joined by some other republics, and together form an economic area and coordination structures, which would coordinate our joint activity in whatever sector we define.

Military Problems

In Leonid Kravchuk's opinion, it is necessary to adhere to the principles of collective security but, at the same time, to have the right to create a national army or guard. The function, nature, and numerical strength of armed forces could become the subject of a separate agreement.

[Kravhcuk] If we take the military-strategic problem, we can unite: The Ukraine, Russia, and Belorussia—those who strive to create a national army, and those who do not.

We, the Ukraine, advocate (and I said so in Moscow) the Ukraine creating its own national army irrespective of other people's attitude to this. That is our position.

National Money and Currency

Leonid Kravchuk stressed that the treaty, which the Ukraine and the other parties to it have initialed, provides an opportunity to resolve the question of national currencies.

[Kravchuk] These currencies are not prohibited, and we in the Ukraine have decided to create our own currency. We are pursuing this work, and we will not be deflected from this. Can the Ukraine find the money for its own currency? We will find this money. The Ukraine is not so poor that it cannot find the money for its own currency, especially since Canada and the United States are looking favorably upon us now. A businessman from Italy approached us recently—he intends to offer serious help in setting up a securities-printing factory [fabrika tsennykh bumag].

Obstacles to Ukrainian Independence

Leonid Kravchuk believes that there are no natural obstacles to Ukrainian independence, but that they are created artificially. For example, objectively there are no grounds at all to believe that a referendum can in any way harm the Ukrainian people or the Ukrainian state. But in reality the situation is being aggravated...

[Kravchuk] ...Independence is compared to separatism and dissociation, which in no way corresponds to reality. No mention is made in any Ukrainian documents about any kind of separatism, or any kind of dissociation from the processes of integration in the political, economic, or spiritual sphere. Our actions in no way attest to our holding a separatist position.

If we had said that we do not wish to conclude treaties with, say, Russia, Belorussia, Hungary, Poland, Turkey, France, Canada, Germany, or Cuba... Then it would be possible to accuse us of separatism. But on the contrary, we stress our desire to conclude political, economic, diplomatic, indeed, any kind of treaty. Where is the separatism here? This is a conscious distortion of concepts.

I am convinced that nobody will succeed in deceiving the people.

I am convinced that the people will vote for independence. I only wish this figure to be no less than 85 percent. Then it will be said: Here is a people that has matured spiritually to reach independence. This, I think, is how it will be.

New Union Treaty

Asked by journalists about rumors that are rife in Moscow and that have not been refuted, even by Mikhail Gorbachev, that the economic community could evolve into a political community, Leonid Kravchuk replied that these aspects were not discussed on any level during the Moscow visit.

[Kravchuk] When you listen to Mikhail Sergeyevich, it is clear that he is bridging the gap between the Economic Community Treaty and what he calls the "Novo-Ogarevo Version." I also sense this.

But I have a single position. I talked to him about it, and I constantly remind him that talks centered on the Novo-Ogarevo process must cease. It is simply not realistic. There is still a need to clarify the situation—for whom does the Union speak today? Well, the USSR Supreme Soviet speaks for the Union. But what Union? The Supreme Soviet was formed from 15 republics which elected delegates on their territories. Now, you see, the Union comprises just seven republics. In which case, what is the Supreme Soviet? Whom does it represent today? What is its status, its juridical and legal platform? Just what is it? It has to be clarified whether it is the old Union or a new one. Or is it the same Union which comprised 15 republics but is now made up of just seven?

It is necessary to define posistions clearly and unequivocally, then everything will fall into place. The Novo-Ogarevo process no longer exists, and there is no need to return to it. And if you are talking about an economic agreement, about the treaty, then I repeat that it can be perceived as a basis for an economic area and not necessarily embracing all the states.

On the Crimea

According to Leonid Kravchuk, the referendum in the Crimea—which certain political forces are insisting upon now—should not take place. It has no role to play. The Crimean Supreme Soviet, while it was at work, adopted neither a constitution nor a law to demarcate powers nor any other documents of importance to it. After all, the Crimean parliament now exercises only the powers given to it by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

[Kravchuk] We will work with the Crimea and seek solutions. I am against exacerbating the issue, but we will find a solution without fail. There is no getting away from it—a constitution will be adopted, a law on elections will be adopted, and elections will be held.

When I was there I saw for myself that today's Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet is capable of sorting out this complex situation by itself. It will be hard, but we will help.

I know the majority of people in the Crimea realize that they have no choice but to live together with the Ukraine. I will quote an example. The water which the Crimea currently receives from the Dnepr and other sources costs it $1.5 billion per year. A second pipeline is being laid, and then the cost will be almost $3 billion per year for water alone. Not to mention the fact that 90 percent of all supplies to the Crimea come from the Ukraine.

I told them straight at the session: No, we will not put any economic pressure on you, we will not. But accounts for everything you receive will be settled according to international norms, and that is that. Just like all other republics. I cited this as an extreme example, because nobody in either the Crimea or the Ukraine will ever review the 1954 treaty. If they do, I will raise the question of reviewing everything that Iosif Vissarionovich [Stalin] "devoured" from the Ukraine in 1925 and 1930. I will also raise the question of reviewing all the highly painful areas in our sacred Ukraine, and there are over 25 of them. Then we will sit around a table and examine historical maps, drawing lines with red crayon. This would be the beginning of the end. Therefore, any reasonable man—if he understands anything—will refrain from putting the question in this manner and will refrain from sitting around a table and redrawing maps. Most people in the Crimea realize this. And we have never restricted the Crimea in any way.

What will a Future Ukraine Be Like

The head of the Ukraine upholds the view that today, when a state is being created, everybody should join in advocating collective democracy [sobornost]. And it follows that there should be no federal structure.

[Kravchuk] I do not rule out in principle the possibility that after 20 or 30 years, when we attain political, economic, and spiritual accord, some state structures will alter. But this would be a disaster today. And I will never agree to a discussion of the questions of territorial-state autonomy. We can examine the question of national-cultural regions, of some kind of national-territorial okrug, but under no circumstances will it be state autonomy. I have opposed, do oppose, and will oppose a federal structure. Anybody currently advocating a federal structure is advocating the dismemberment of the Ukraine—whatever aims he may be pursuing—and we cannot allow this, we have no right.

Russia and the Ukraine

L. Kravchuk claims that Ukrainian policy in respect of Russia takes priority because it is tied up in history, and in the fact that not only economic links but entire families and the peoples' fate are intermingled. Over 11 million Russians live in the Ukraine, and over 4 million Ukrainians in Russia. This cannot be ignored in politics.

[Kravchuk] But we must take account of one circumstance: It is vital that not only the top Russian leaders but leaders at every level and all deputy structures realize that this policy will only be enriched if we are equal and enjoy equal rights, and if nobody is considered senior or junior, bigger or smaller. If neither side dictates anything to the other. If nobody makes allusions to their greater or lesser rights. I am emphasizing this because, looking back at history, it is apparent that an imperial policy and imperial thinking are unfortunately forging a road for themselves now too. These contradictions, which have now emerged on the soil of an insufficiently clear understanding of the situation, have already extended to everyday life. Muscovites, for example, are already—and I can cite facts—showing hostility toward Ukrainian representatives on occasions, while people in Kiev and elsewhere are beginning to respond accordingly to Russians. We must put a stop to this. It is not in Ukrainian or Russian interests. The purpose of our trip to Moscow and of the signing of the communique with Russia was to reiterate: The Ukraine and Russia are equal states with equal rights, and they will continue to enrich relations between them.

It is sometimes said that the Ukraine cannot manage without Russia. But the opposite can also be said: Russia cannot manage without the Ukraine. Here are some figures: The Ukraine manufactures 4 million tonnes of large-diameter pipes for Russia. The energy required to manufacture these 4 million tonnes requires something in the regions of 18 million tonnes of oil. We could, say, halt production of these pipes and still manage without the 18 million tonnes of oil. But this should not be allowed to happen. It is vital to reshape the whole structure. After all, everything in in our country was created for a single state—from the Carpathians to the Far East. Now we need to create separate states on this territory. Today, the question is this: Will we be able to go our own ways and set up states peacefully? Will there be sufficient wisdom and balanced judgment to go our own ways peacefully while preserving good mutual relations and without severing economic ties but merely giving them a different status? This is the most important point today in order to prevent confrontation.

Chornovil Opposes Membership in Union

LD2911184291 Moscow TASS in English 1626 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By correspondent Aleksandr Semyonov]

[Text] Bonn November 29 TASS—Ukrainian presidential candidate and Chairman of the Lvov Regional Council Vyacheslav Chornovil claims the republic "will not join the new Union".

"The Ukraine's economic relations with Russia are vitally necessary," he told the newspaper HANDELSBLATT, "but this does not call for a political superstructure in the form of a new economic community."

If the future Russian leadership chooses to supply the Ukraine with raw materials at world prices, the latter will also demand hard currency for its goods. "Without deliveries from the Ukraine," Chornovil asserted, "the Russian economy is bound to collapse." He believes trade between the two republics is now balanced and it is in the interests of both sides to perpetuate this balance.

Chornovil criticised certain "great power elements" in Yeltsin's policy. However, he said he was opposed to any confrontational policy vis-a-vis the Russian president. Touching on the problem of nuclear weapons in the Ukraine, he noted that they were "a guarantee of the Ukraine's independence". However, the presidential candidate said that eventually the Ukraine should become a nuclear-free zone. He believes the principle of a "double firing button" should be used before all the missiles are scrapped. This means that no nuclear weapons should be used without the Ukraine's consent.

The Ukrainian politician went on record for the emission of a national convertible currency in the immediate future. He also believes the Ukraine should assume responsibility for a part of the former Union's foreign debt. However, he made this conditional on the obtainment of the Ukraine's share from the Union's gold and hard currency reserves.

According to Chornovil, any attempt to dictate political and economic terms to the Ukraine was doomed to failure. This refers primarily to the disputable Russian-Ukrainian border. Geographically and economically, as well as from the viewpoint of our transportation system, the Crimea is a part of the Ukraine, Chornovil said. He went on record for the Crimea's autonomy within the frameworks of an independent Ukraine.

Interrepublic Affairs

Gamsakhurdia on Armenian-Azerbaijani Conflict

NC2911184991 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Yerevan, 29 Nov (ARMENPRES)—In messages sent to the presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan to be published in the Georgian press, Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has called on the two republics to refrain from confrontation. The message notes that "Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia could have a positive influence on the political climate not only of Transcaucasia, but the Near East as well."

Armenia

Foreign Ministry Appeals to Azerbaijan

OW0112054891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1650 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Armenian Foreign Ministry has declared that the aggravation of relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan is fraught with human losses, damages the prestige of the two republics and creates obstacles to their recognition by the international community.

Its statement issued on Friday [29 November] invites colleagues in Azerbaijan to get down together to the search of ways and means of a civilized, diplomatic solution of questions concerning both peoples.

Republic To Get Gas From N. Ossetia

OW0112041191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1650 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In the next few days Armenia will start getting natural gas from Mozdok, North Ossetia, via Georgia. This was reported to IF [INTERFAX] by the director of the Grustranges Company Karlo Nikolashvili.

He stressed that Armenia would be getting limited amounts of gas because Georgia itself suffers from fuel shortages. Besides, the gas pipeline Mozdok-Tbilisi-Yerevan has not been completed.

Gas Pipeline Functional

NC0212114191 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1000 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] The press center of the Council of Ministers has informed us that the newly built gas pipeline entering Armenia via Georgia has already started functioning. Thus, gas has arrived (?in Armenia).

Azerbaijan Forces Reported in Border Regions

NC2911191591 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Yerevan, 29 Nov (ARMENPRES)—GOLOS ARMENII reports that the situation was relatively calm in Nagorno-Karabakh on 26-27 November. The Azerbaijanis are concentrating their forces in border regions, such as Agdamskiy and Shushinskiy Rayons.

YERKIR reports that the Azerbaijanis repeatedly shelled Khoznavar village on 25 November. Combat forces have been brought from Goris to check the Azerbaijani attack. Teg, Khndzoresk, and Kornidzor villages also came under sporadic fire. There were no casualties.

Internal Troops Update Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict

NC0212174591 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1600 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] The following is the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh as reported by the headquarters of the internal troops:

The resistance of the opposing sides in Nagorno-Karabakh is continuing.

Reports from the headquarters of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry's [MVD] Internal Troops, [words indistinct] exchanges of fire were taking place in the last few days in Askeranskiy and Shushinskiy Rayons. Intense firing was also heard in Stepanakert. In almost all these cases the servicemen had to return fire.

The economic blockade of Nagorno-Karabakh is continuing. [words indistinct]. There was no more bread in Stepanakert as of 1 December. [words indistinct] There is no fuel and no heating.

In the last two weeks, 48 settlements—30 of them Armenian—and 12 military details came under fire from various organizations. Five servicemen have been injured. The firings are made by Alazan missiles, antitank cannons, and mortars.

Azerbaijani OMON [special purpose militia detachment] subunits and the republic's armed organizations often resort to open [word indistinct] clashes with the forces of the USSR MVD troops. The Armenian freedom fighters are refraining from such clashes.

Like the local population, the Internal Troops too are deprived of normal living conditions. The time for release from service for those who have completed the (?voluntary) term of service is being delayed. The soldiers are demanding to be returned to their home bases. The officers are displeased at Azerbaijani press attacks against the troops. In the military's opinion, such attacks are (?negatively affecting) the situation in the region.

[Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian at 1215 GMT on 2 December 1991 cites a YERKIR report: "The freedom fighters managed to take control of

Vanadzor village in Gadrutskiy Rayon on 28 November. The village had been occupied by the Azerbaijanis. The Azerbaijani-inhabited Ankatora village was also evacuated a few days ago. Two hostages, who were abducted more then a month ago, were returned to the Armenian side on 28 November at Yeraskhavan, which borders Nakhichevan. Overall, nearly 20 hostages have been released during the last ten days."]

'Tense' Situation Reported

NC2911210891 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] According to reports from Nagorno-Karabakh, the situation remains tense there despite a halt to the wide-scale military operations.

The telephone link with the outside world has not been restored. Leonard Petrosyan, chairman of Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Soviet Executive Committee, said that flour reserves are almost depleted, but there is hope this question may be resolved. Military authorities have promised to provide helicopters to bring flour to Stepanakert.

Schools and kindergartens, higher-educational institutes, and enterprises are not functioning.

Half of the residents of Stepanakert are deprived of drinking water because the city's water conduit has been blown up.

At present [words indistinct] Shushinskiy Rayon.

The authorities have come to an agreement with the Azerbaijani side to bring fuel to Nagorno-Karabakh.

After Azerbaijani-inhabited Khodzhavend settlement was burned down, the situation in Stepanakert has calmed down. Now only Karadagly village poses a threat. On 21 November, gunfire was exchanged between the Azerbaijani-inhabited village and the nearby Armenian villages. According to reliable sources, the exodus of Karadagly's peaceful population continues. In their place, the OMON [special purpose militia] detachments are settling down in the village. The Azerbaijanis apparently are preparing for large-scale operations.

The situation also remains tense in Tavushskiy Rayon. Troops are being massed on the Azerbaijani side. The Azerbaijani side reneged on a previous cease-fire agreement and is continuing to fire on Aygebar and Movses villages. Another round of talks were held and a general cease-fire agreement was concluded. By 1400 the situation was calm on the border, although that is a misleading lull, and a new provocation is expected.

Tension 'Eased' on Border

PM2911144191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[By correspondent S. Bablumyan]

[Excerpt] Yerevan—Tension on the Armenian-Azerbaijan border has eased somewhat, and a trend toward the stabilization of the situation is to be observed.

IZVESTIYA's correspondent was told this by Vagarshak Arutyunyan, Armenian deputy minister of internal affairs, who emphasized, however, that it would still be premature to make optimistic forecasts. Over the past 24 hours some villages in the Noyemberyanskiy and Krasnoselskiy Rayons of Armenia were subjected to unaimed artillery shelling—there are no casualties or destruction.

Commenting on reports in some mass media that forces are being concentrated on the Armenian border, Vagarshak Arutyunyan pointed out that certain militia subunits are being moved in connection with the buildup of Azerbaijan special purpose militia detachment forces that is to be observed in a number of sectors on the contiguous side. [passage omitted]

Soviet Army Not To Fight Against Armenians

OW0112111891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Soviet Army will not fight against the Armenian people, USSR first deputy defence minister, Colonel-General Pavel Grachyov, told the newspaper GOLOS ARMENYI (THE VOICE OF ARMENIA). Moreover, in case of emergency it would defend them from external aggression, he added.

Mr. Grachyov is currently in Armenia, inspecting the troops located in that republic.

Azerbaijan

Commission Cites Proof of Helicopter Shooting

LD3011223591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 30 Nov 91

["TV Inform" newscast report]

[Text] The MI-8 helicopter that crashed in Nagorno-Karabakh on 20 November was shot down. New details have been reported by the chairman of the state commission.

[Begin recording] [T. Karayev, captioned as deputy chairman of the Republic of Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet and chairman of the state investigative commission] It can now be definitely said that the cause of the disaster was shots fired at the helicopter on 20 November. I have already received an official document: the conclusions of the judicial medical expert inquiry. Apart from the bulletholes found in the helicopter, according to the judicial medical expert inquiry, gunshot wounds were found on the body of one of the members of the crew named Yelavenko. Apart from that, I think sufficient proof that the helicopter was shot down is also provided by the fact that yesterday, 28 November, in the same region, near the village of Karakend, there is another village named Ashan. A civilian helicopter was flying over this village at 1155 from Karabagly to Agdam, and there was also an attempt to shoot it down. The pilot managed to land the helicopter. The helicopter has bulletholes. It was shot at in the same region.

[Unidentified reporter] So you can say that the myth of bad weather has evaporated like mist?

[Karayev] Yes, it was absolutely clear to me from the very first day that the helicopter had been shot down. Why? Because it is not the first case when our means of transport, including helicopters, have been shot at in the region of the former Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. We have now simply received the necessary evidence to clearly show that this was an act of terrorism. [end recording]

Not all specialists make such an unequivocal assessment of the cause of the crash of the MI-8 helicopter. Final results will only be seen after the investigation. Meanwhile, the wreckage of the helicopter and the black box have been taken to a military airfield in the town of Gyandzha in Azerbaijan. An IZVESTIYA correspondent reports that experts from Moscow are taking part in the work of recovering the black box recording.

Two Helicopters Fired Upon Near Village

LD2911213191 Moscow TASS in English 1922 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—The forensic commission investigating the crash of a military helicopter MI-8 which carried senior officials from Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Russia has found that crew members had gunshot wounds.

According to Azerbaijan Procurator General Murad Babayev, Crew Commander Major Vyacheslav Kotov was found to have a gunshot injury in the region of left thigh. A bullet from an automatic weapon was removed.

Pilot Lieutenant Dmitriy Yarovenko had a perforating gunshot injury on his left forearm. Injuries were sustained when both men were alive.

Presumably, the new facts will mark the first real step forward in investigating the circumstances of the helicopter crash that further exacerbated relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

As was reported, all passengers and the crew, a total of 22 people, died in the crash. Initially it was suggested that the tragedy was due to bad weather conditions. However, some Azerbaijani officials alleged that the helicopter was shot down and blamed Armenian-controlled militants.

Consequently, a broad anti-Armenian campaign, with the state involved, was unleashed in Azerbaijan. For example, the Azerbaijani parliament took a decision to abolish the autonomy of Nagorno-Karabakh.

The Azerbaijani side substantiated its arguments with the fact that the inspection of helicopter debris revealed bullet holes in its hull. However, specialists countered with good reason that aircraft and helicopters in Nagorno-Karabakh are often subjected to ground fire by Armenian and Azerbaijani militants. Some helicopters continue to operate with bullet holes in hulls.

The investigation is further complicated by the fact that it is conducted by Azerbaijani and Soviet military procurators who do not coordinate their actions.

Baku November 29 TASS—By AZERINFORM-TASS correspondent Sabir Mirzoyev:

Two helicopters with passengers on board came under fire on Friday [29 November] in the area of the Armenian village Karakend. The Azerbaijani Interior Ministry reported that pilots of one of the helicopters managed to avoid damage by maneuvering while the second machine had a steering rotor damaged. However it landed at the airport in the Azerbaijani town of Agdam.

No injuries are reported among the crew and passengers.

'Tense' Situation in Kazakhskiy Rayon Noted

NC3011184191 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] The situation in the Kazakhskiy Rayon continues to be tense. The armed Armenians continue to act with ill-intent. The residents of Barkhudarly, Kheyrimli, [name indistinct], Yukary Askipara, and Ashagy Askipara towns are defending their lands against the bandits. Meanwhile, militia units are helping the border towns. The Idzhevan-Noyemberyan highway has been blocked in the vicinity of these towns. The bandits, however, continue to open fire in this area. Naturally, they receive a deserving reply.

Independence Referendum To Be Held 29 Dec

PM2711094591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 91 p 1

[Untitled report from PRAVDA, TASS roundup]

[Text] A referendum will take place in Azerbaijan 29 December on the question of the republic's state independence. This was the Supreme Soviet's decision founded on the constitutional act "On the Azerbaijan Republic's State Independence" adopted 18 October.

Georgia

More Reportage on Escalating S. Ossetia Crisis

Shootings in Tskhinvali Reported

LD0212121191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1056 GMT 2 Dec 91

[By correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 2 Dec (TASS)—The situation in South Ossetia, which is tense anyhow, has gained a new round of armed opposition between the Georgian and Ossetian sides: An emergency situation regime has been introduced over the whole territory of the region in accordance with a decision by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of South Ossetia. General mobilization of the population and the formation of a national guard have been announced. The parliament of the republic of Georgia had previously revoked the state of emergency regime in Tskhinvali and in Dzhavskiy Rayon that had been in existence here since December last year.

According to reports from the press center of the information committee of South Ossetia, shots rang out again last night on the outskirts of Tskhinvali and in Znaurskiy Rayon. One person was killed and seven were seriously injured. There were reply shots from the Ossetian side as well, to suppress the weapon emplacements of the guerillas [boyeviki].

A number of armed attacks by guerillas on troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs at border crossing points were also registered last night. As a result of these actions one serviceman was killed and one officer and three soldiers were taken hostage. There was an armed clash between Georgian guerillas and a self-defense detachment and local residents, which lasted three hours, on the outskirts of the village of Ootrevi, Tskhinvali Rayon. There are wounded on both the Ossetian and the Georgian sides. Eight buildings were set on fire in the village.

According to reliable sources, around 20,000 guerrillas have assembled from the direction of the Gori Highway on the approaches to Tskhinvali. Armored vehicles, Alazan hail guns [gradoboynye sistemy], and artillery weapons are arriving here from other regions of Georgia. The ring of economic, transportation, and foodstuffs blockades is tightening more and more strongly around the city.

Militants Massed Near Tskhinvali

LD0112143391 Moscow TASS in English 1352 GMT 1 Dec 91

[By correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz December 1 TASS—The socio-political situation in South Ossetia, which is part of the Republic of Georgia, becomes increasingly disquieting with every passing day.

The explosive confrontation between the Georgian and Ossetian sides is accounted for by the fact that the Georgian parliament lifted the state of emergency in Tskhinvali and Dzhava districts, which may push militants to a further escalation of the armed conflict.

For its part, as a retaliatory measure, the Supreme Council of the Republic of South Ossetia imposed a state of emergency throughout the whole territory of the region, declared a call-up and passed a law on the formation of a national guard.

According to the press centre of the South Ossetia information committee, aimed fire was brought down on residential areas and important economic facilities on the outskirts of Tskhinvali and in Znauri District last night. According to preliminary data, seven people were wounded. National guard units returned the fire to neutralise militants' weapon emplacements.

Disquieting reports are coming from Gori Highway. More than 17,000 militants have already massed on the approaches to Tskhinvali. Armoured vehicles, hail-control Alazan gun systems and artillery guns are being brought there. The city is in a tight ring of transportation blockade. The supply of food, medicines and fuel has been cut off for several days. The reserve stock of flour has ended at the local bakery. Water, gas and electricity is supplied to residential areas intermittently.

The Ossetian side has again urged the Government of the Republic of Georgia to end the senseless bloodshed and resolve all territorial and inter-ethnic problems peacefully. At the same time the Supreme Council of the Republic of South Ossetia called on all residents, national guardsmen and members of self-defence units to stand on guard of their lands.

A no less tense situation remains on the eastern border between North Ossetia and Chechen-Ingushetia. This is connected with the fact that the main question during the November 30 referendum of the Ingush people was their desire to form a republic of their own within the Russian Federation with the return of the Prigordniy District of North Ossetia and the right-bank part of Vladikavkaz to the Ingush people.

The outcome of the referendum is unknown so far but there are data that a certain proportion of Ingushes regard the referendum and the way the question is put as provocative and aimed at splitting Chechens and Ingush and at stirring up ethnic enmity between Ingushes and Ossets.

The Ossetian side categorically disagrees with a territorial division of lands since such action would entail unpredictable consequences.

It has become known that Djohar Dudayev met North Ossetian delegation led by North Ossetian Prime Minister Sergey Khetagurov in Groznyy. During the meeting, the president stated that he would not allow an armed conflict between Ingushes and Ossets and offered his mediatory services in peaceful talks between the neighbouring peoples.

For his part, Khetagurov emphasised that North Ossetian leaders continued to do everything possible to resolve the conflict between the two countries peacefully and repeatedly urged the leadership of the Chechen-Ingush Republic, the Ingush people and the leaders of the country and Russia to settle all conflicts on the basis of accord.

Situation 'Extremely Tense'

AU0212103391 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1405 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Statement issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs press center; date not given]

[Text] The situation in Samachablo [South Ossetia]

There have been no armed attacks on the Georgian population in Samachablo for six days now. However, the situation remains extremely tense. In particular, representatives of the USSR Internal Troops have blatantly threatened to wipe those Georgian villages off the surface of the earth from where shots are fired in the direction of Tskhinvali. One cannot exclude their organizing some form of provocation. For example, false rumors were spread yesterday claiming that a night attack was going to be launched on Tskhinvali.

Militia Colonel Akakiy Bochurishvili, chief of the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Internal Affairs temporary headquarters in Tskhinvali, this morning informed us that last night Ossetian extremists aided by the military blocked the entrance into Tskhinvali from Eredvi, Prisi, and Mevgrekisi using reinforced concrete.

Colonel Tengiz Epitashvili, the plenipotentiary of the president of the Republic of Georgia in Shida Kartli [area of Georgia into which South Ossetia has been reincorporated under its historical name of Samachablo by the Georgian Government] stated that the necessary measures will be taken to clear the blockade.

We have information that the self-proclaimed government on the territory of former South Ossetia has restored a republic and named as chairman of its Supreme Soviet Torez Kulumbegov, who is currently under arrest, and as deputy chairman, Znaur Gassiyev, who until recently headed the executive committee of the non-existent region.

General mobilization has been declared on the territory of the former region. Yesterday, at a meeting in Tskhinvali, Znaur Gassiyev called upon the Ossetian population to take up arms and to struggle against the Georgians until the last drop of blood was shed.

That was a statement issued by the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Internal Affairs press center.

Soviet Troops Fire on Militia

AU0212104391 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0510 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Statement issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs press center on 2 December]

[Text] The situation in Samachablo [South Ossetia]

We informed you yesterday that Ossetian extremists, with the help of representatives of the USSR Internal Troops, using reinforced concrete, blocked the entrance into Tskhinvali from the Georgian villages of Eredvi, Prisi, and Mevgrekisi.

A large group of Ossetian citizens and soldiers today came out of Tskhinvali and cut down a number of high trees lining the Gori-Tskhinvali Highway. Posts manned by Internal Troops were moved several hundred meters inside Gori Rayon.

A representative of the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Internal Affairs temporary headquarters protested against this illegal action by the military and requested that the posts be moved back to their previous location. However, the military ignored this protest. On the contrary, they opened fire on the Georgian militia.

Soviet Army Units Attacked

LD2911211991 Moscow TASS in English 2033 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi November 29 TASS—Servicemen with the Soviet Army units deployed on Georgian territory have been forced to resort to retaliatory actions in response to armed attacks on them.

During the past 24 hours they had to rebuff attempts to seize a patrol group and capture a munitions depot and a motor vehicle storage facility.

They had to use gunfire twice, including near the railway station in Tbilisi in the bright daylight.

Conflict With Ingush Noted

LD2911185291 Moscow TASS in English 1608 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By correpsondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Excerpt] Vladikavkaz November 29 TASS— [passage omitted] Tension persists on the eastern border of South Ossetia with the Chechen-Ingush Republic. Ingushes hold a meeting in Nazrani. They demand that the North Ossetian republic return to Ingushes Prigorodny district and the right bank part of Vladikavkaz. The Ossetian side does not agree to this ultimatum and proposes that the territorial dispute be decided by peaceful talks and a referendum.

The territory of Prigorodny district looks like an army camp. The state of emergency has been imposed. A curfew is operating. The district is defended by republican guards and self-defence units.

National Guard Law Adopted

LD3011095191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0905 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Report by correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Excerpt] Vladikavkaz, 30 Nov (TASS)—The Supreme Soviet of South Ossetia today declared a general mobilization and adopted a law on the formation of a National Guard. This measure has been adopted in connection with the acute exacerbation of the situation in the region.

The press center of the Information Committee of South Ossetia said that last night was a disturbing one in the more critical areas. Directed fire came from the Georgian villages of Nikozi, Tamarasheni, Eredvi, and Mevgrekisi at the outskirts of Tskhinvali; and the village of Znauri and other residential areas were shelled. People were injured as a result. [passage omitted]

President Declares Rayon State of Emergency

LD3011222691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 2000 GMT 30 Nov 91

["New Wave" feature]

[Text] By decree of the president of Georgia, a state of emergency was introduced today on the territory of Marnyuli Rayon. As the decree notes, cases of mass disturbances have recently taken place violating, quote, the normal rhythm of work of state institutions, enterprises, and organizations. I continue to quote: Banditry, robbery, kidnapping of people, and other crimes have become rampant there.

The state of emergency on the territory of the rayon will be in effect for a month.

Parliament Session Suspended Amid 'Scuffles'

LD3011073191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0400 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] The Georgian Supreme Soviet session, which began in Tbilisi on 29 November, ended abruptly and unsuccessfully. Scuffles broke out between supporters of the president and the parliamentary opposition. In connection with this, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet stated that he was seriously ill and asked to be released from that post. The deputy chairman then said that he was not prepared to chair the session and the work of the parliament was suspended. The STUDINFORM agency has reported that the next sitting is planned for 3 December.

Interior Ministry Troops To Leave by Jul 92

LD3011061491 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2240 GMT 29 Nov 91

["Military News" feature: "USSR Interior Ministry Units Are To Leave Georgia Before July 1, 1992"]

[Text] It has emerged from the circles close to the USSR Interior Ministry top officials that regiments of the Interior Ministry troops and a special purpose brigade which is considered to be best trained and most reliable one are to leave Tbilisi. The USSR Interior Ministry accounts for this decision by the danger for the life of the servicemen and their families. The future of one of the USSR Interior Ministry regiments deployed in Yerevan is yet undecided. This regiment is also likely to be moved to Russia.

Cabinet Warns Against Seizure of Property

AU2911171191 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 23 Nov 91 p 4

[Statement issued by the Cabinet of Ministers in connection with the illegal seizure of property belonging to the USSR Army, Navy, and border and internal troops located on the territory of Georgia in Tbilisi; date not given]

[Text] In connection with the decrees of the president of the Republic of Georgia published in the press on 8, 12, and 16 November that declared the ammunition, means of communication, military hardware, military bases, and other military inventory of the Soviet Army, Navy, and border and internal troops located on the territory of Georgia as being the property of the Republic of Georgia, the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers states that:

1. Until negotiations are conducted with the relevant USSR organs of administration and state power and the corresponding agreements and other documents pertaining to the transfer of the property denoted in the aforementioned decrees to the ownership of the republic have been drawn up and signed, no one has the right to claim or lay hands on it. Any attempts to misappropriate, damage, transfer, sell it, and so forth as well as to take it out of the Republic of Georgia will be qualified as a punishable offence.

2. The command authorities of the Caucasian military and border districts, formations and units of the Black Sea Fleet and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and units and installations under central control located on the territory of the Republic of Georgia are authorized not to allow the removal of the property enumerated in the decrees out of the republic without the permission of the Government of the Republic of Georgia.

At the same time, the commanders of subunits, units, and installations and other persons responsible for the safety of property should take all the necessary measures in order to halt any attempts to seize it illegally.

3. We call upon the leaders of military collectives, all officers, Army and Navy warrant officers, sergeants, ranking non-commissioned officers, all personnel, members of servicemen's families, and civilian workers and employees of the Soviet Army, Navy, and border and internal troops to keep calm and remain assured that the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers will guarantee their rights and social status within the limits of its competence.

4. The Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers is taking all the measures within its power to fulfill the demands of the aforementioned decrees. It is preparing the appropriate envoys in order to enter into negotiations with representatives of the center and draw up agreements, treaties, and other documents regulating interrelations between the sides and their mutual responsibility.

[Signed] V. Gugushvili, prime minister of the Republic of Georgia

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev First Popularly Elected President

LD0212132891 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1050 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Text] According to a Central Electoral Commission report a news conference was held today at which commission chairman Kapar Bukenov announced that more than 88 percent of the electorate took part in elections. Nearly 99 percent of Kazakhstan voters voted for Nursultan Nazarbayev. On 1 December, the republica presidential election took place not only on the territory of Kazakhstan but also in Moscow, where 1,018 Kazakhs who are studying, working or living there participated in the voting, of whom 1,010 voted for, seven against and one vote was considered void.

Voting in the republic passed calmly and in an organized manner.

Now in Kazakhstan for the first time in its history the people have elected their own president.

Today a news conference was held with the participation of Nursultan Nazarbayev, the first republic president elected by the people of Kazakhstan.

Kyrgyzstan

Prime Minister Isanov Killed in Accident

Government Issues Statement

LD2911185591 Bishkek Radio Bishkek Network in Russian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Statement issued by the president of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, and the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan in Bishkek on 29 November]

[Excerpt] The president of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, and the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan announce with profound regret that Nasirdin Isanovich Isanov, the prime minister of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, died in a car crash on 29 November 1991, and express their sincere condolences to the deceased's nearest and dearest.

On the organization of the funeral of Nasirdin Isanovich Isanov, the prime minister of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan:

The president of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, and the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan decree that a commission to organize the funeral of Nasirdin Isanovich Isanov, the prime minister of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, be formed with the following composition: Akayev, commission chairman; Sherimkulov; Kuznetsov; Iordan; Duysheyev; Koychuyev; Muraliyev; Fisher; Chyngyshev; (?Akaraliyev); Dzhumagulov; Orozbayev; Osmonov; Sarygulov; Sutalinov; Sydykov; (?Abdayimov).

[Signed] The president of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, and the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan

Nasirdin Isanovich Isanov—the Republic of Kyrgyzstan has suffered a heavy loss. [passage omitted]

Gorbachev Sends Condolences

LD2911175891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1700 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has sent a cable to the leaders of Kyrgyzstan. It says, in part: I express my profound and sincere condolences to you and all the people of Kyrgyzstan at the tragic death of Nasirdin Isanov, prime minister of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan. The life of an eminent statesman who understood well the vital importance of friendship among the country's peoples and who actively fostered the renewal of the union of sovereign states has been cut short. His fine memory will remain with us always.

Tajikistan

Commission States Nabiyev Elected President

OW2911131591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1100 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Friday [29 November], Tajikistan's electoral commission announced the results of the presidential elections held on November 24.

The lists of electors included 2,610,089 citizens from 62 electoral districts. Voting involved 2,257,476 electors, which constituted 86.49 percent of their total number.

There were nine candidates entered on the secret-ballot paper. Two of them—Kadriddin Aslonov and Ismail Davlyatov—removed their candidatures on the eve of the election.

Rakhmon Nabiyev scored 1,321,189 votes (58.52 percent of the total number), while his main rival, Dovlat Khudonazarov - 678.461 votes (30.05 per cent).

In accordance vith Article 16 of the republic's Law on Presidential Elections, Chairman of the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet Rakhmon Nabiyev, born in 1930, has been elected president of Tajikistan.

Uzbekistan

Economist Views Transition to Market Economy

OW0112192191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 29 Nov 91

[From "Business Weekly"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Following the adoption on August 31, 1991, of its declaration of independence, Uzbekistan announced its intention to move to a market economy, albeit along its own road that would take account of existing realities and the ways of life and traditions special to its people.

Soviet economist Sergei Kohlev takes a look at the main provisions of Uzbekistan's programme for transition to a market economy.

UZBEKISTAN WILL REFRAIN FROM THE "SHOCK THERAPY" METHODS, and will be introducing market forces on a step-by-step basis, moving first to a state capitalism model along Chinese lines, albeit with greater emphasis on privatisation and leasing.

Sources in the republic say that the reason behind its rejection of the shock therapy scenario is that half of its population live below the official poverty line, so an immediate price liberalisation could lead to unpredictable social repercussions.

CONDITIONS ON THE MARKET OF CONSUMER GOODS AND SERVICES. Absolute figures on levels of income in Uzbekistan are misleading since the rouble there is 20% more valuable than in Moscow in terms of its commodity backing. Retained controls over prices and intrarepublican supply links, as well as a reluctance to make short work of dismantling the old mechanisms of economic management have enabled Uzbekistan to slow down the disintegration of its consumer goods market. A measure of stability of the market was achieved by a ban on outward bound shipments of consumer goods, with the only exemption being the goods shipped out of the republic to fill the orders of the central authorities. The barriers to commodity flows went up in 1990, when the Baltic republics began to jettison their rouble holdings on a mass scale. These restrictions on "exports" were relayed in early 1991, when barter transactions—which do not result in increased currency inflows—were permitted.

Restrictions on the movement of goods out of the republic provoke discontent on the part of businessmen. One example is that every fifth transaction at the republic's commodity exchanges falls through because permission for the commodity in question to leave the republic cannot be obtained. It has been suggested that the republic could deal with the host of problems it faces by introducing a national currency, although this could not realistically be done before another two to three years.

The short-term measures which Uzbekistan is contemplating in order to stem the inflationary inflow of money from Russia and other republics include introducing tighter and more sweeping regulations.

INTERREPUBLICAN LINKS. The republic's government supports the concept of a common economic space, in which the centre would have an active role to play in coordinating and controlling the observance of mutual obligation.

Uzbekistan is entirely dependent on Russia for imports of fuel and basic energy resources. The transition to world prices in interrepublican trade would have disastrous consequences for the republic's economy. Even now, shrinking supplies of raw materials and components result in Uzbekistan's enterprises operating on average at less than 80 percent of their capacity, while in the construction sector this figure is as low as 50 percent. Investment projects have been trimmed dramatically.

Supply problems have been further aggravated by the transition to the republic's jurisdiction of enterprises formerly run by the central government: these account for one-third of the republic's industrial output and 70 percent of its fixed industrial assets.

LEGAL BASIS FOR MARKET-ORIENTED REFORMS. The most important laws of the package of legislation, which is to underpin market reforms in the republic, are already in force in Uzbekistan. Early 1991 saw the republic enact the laws "On Banks and Banking", "On Cooperation", "On Entrepreneurship", "On External Economic Activities". Amendments to these laws are currently being drawn up to make them consistent with the republic's declaration of independence. Uzbekistan's parliament is debating draft legislation on employment, leases, commodity and stock exchanges, and denationalisation and privatisation.

EXTERNAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES. Uzbekistan's relative political stability and good export potential make it attractive to foreign investors. Its key export resources include copper, rare-earth metals, cotton, and a variety of agricultural raw materials.

The republic is looking into the possibility of exporting nontraditional items, specifically into that of exporting services. Negotiations are under way with Great Britain, Sweden and Saudi Arabia on exporting Uzbekistan's labour.

The republic has set up a State Committee on Foreign Trade to speed up its integration into the world economy.

The newly enacted legislation permits foreign firms to repatriate their profits and own property on the republic's territory.

So far, 60 joint ventures have been registered in the republic's legislation, of which 13 have already gone into business.

Republican legislation encourages foreign investment in the priority industries of the mining and manufacturing sectors, particularly in the high technology industries. Under the republic's legislation, foreign investors are required to train and employ local personnel, so as to improve the professional qualifications of the republic's workforce.